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JOSEPH HOLAND, COLLECTOR AND ANTIQUARY<sup>1</sup>

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**A**MONG the host of minor Elizabethans whose names are scarcely remembered even by scholars, Joseph Holand<sup>2</sup> perhaps deserves that what little can now be learned about his life and activities be put on record. He once had in his possession at least two manuscripts of great importance to students of Middle English literature;<sup>3</sup> he was acquainted, if not intimate, with Thynne, Camden, Cotton, and other antiquaries of his time; and his contributions to the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries entitle him to some attention in the history of English scholarship.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Part of the material in this study was presented in different form in a paper, "Joseph Holand and the record concerning Chaucer as a student at the Inner Temple," read before the English I section of the South-Central Modern Language Association at Shreveport, La., November 1, 1940.

<sup>2</sup> This is the spelling he employed in the majority of his signatures that have come to my attention.

<sup>3</sup> MS Arundel XXII in the College of Arms, London, and the Chaucer codex, Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27. See below, pp. 298-300.

<sup>4</sup> The fullest single collection of information about Holand that I have found is on fols. 88-89 of British Museum Additional MS 24,490, Vol. IV of Joseph Hunter's "Chorus vatum anglicanorum," to which Dr. Giles Dawson of the Folger Shakespeare Memorial Library first called my attention. In print, Holand has been noticed by Anthony & Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1721), Vol. I, col. 521; John Prince, *Damnonii orientales illustres: or, the worthies of Devon* (Exeter, 1701), p. 261; Thomas Hearne, *A collection of curious discourses written by eminent antiquaries upon several heads in our English antiquities*

Information about Holand's life is scanty, though it is quite possible that there is more than I discovered in my search, which was confined to the materials in the British Museum. He himself tells us that he was born at Weare in Devonshire; that his family was descended from John Holland, fourth son of Robert, Lord Holland (died 1328-29);<sup>5</sup> and that he was a member of the Inner Temple.<sup>6</sup> He fails, however, to give the date of his birth, of which there is no record that I have been able to find. If, as seems probable, he was eighteen or nineteen when he was admitted to the Inner Tem-

(2d ed. [by J. Ayloffe]; London, 1771), I, xxvi-xxvii, II, 436; Mark Noble, *A history of the College of Arms* (London, 1804), p. 252.

<sup>5</sup> Confirmed by "The visitation of Deuonsheire" made for Camden as Clarenceux King of Arms in 1620 (British Museum MS Harley 1080, fols. 352-53). Cf. also the pedigree in British Museum MS Harley 5185, fols. 69\*-70, said to be taken from evidence in the custody of Andrew Holand of Weare (Joseph's elder brother) and approved under the hand of Cooke, Clarenceux, September 28, 1588.

<sup>6</sup> In the Lovel Lectionary fragment, British Museum MS Harley 7026, fols. 3 and 4. On fol. 1 is the note: "Manuscriptum . . . Invenit . . . Josephus Holland de interiori Templo decimo quinto Die Junij A.D. 1.6.0.0. & propter amorem & reverentiam Fundatoris preservari, procuravit." To the seventeen vellum leaves of the fragment, Holand added three of paper (included in the foliation as fols. 1-3) on which he entered, or had an amanuensis enter, in a highly calligraphic Italian hand material concerning the families of Holland and Lovel.

ple in November, 1571,<sup>7</sup> he must have been born about 1552 or 1553.<sup>8</sup> On May 16, 1575, Holand married his first wife, Angella Bassano,<sup>9</sup> by whom he had one son, Philip, born March 14, 1576.<sup>10</sup> Some time after Angella's death, which must have occurred before October 24, 1584,<sup>11</sup> Holand married a second wife, Sara, daughter of Lawrence Hewett of London.<sup>12</sup> In 1601 he still had chambers in the Inner Temple.<sup>13</sup> That is the extent of the information I have been able to find, except that he was granted a coat-of-arms on September 28, 1588.<sup>14</sup> The date of his

<sup>7</sup> *Students admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547-1660*, [ed. W. H. Cooke] (London, 1877), p. 70. Cooke mistakenly says he was from Apsham, "Hodie Topsham," Devon.

<sup>8</sup> The admittance entries give no information about the age of students at the time they were admitted, but eighteen or nineteen seems to have been the average age at which students were admitted to the Middle Temple (J. Bruce Williamson, *The history of the Temple*, London [New York, 1924], pp. 220-21). It is reasonable to assume that what was true of the Middle Temple was also true of the Inner Temple.

<sup>9</sup> MS Harley 1080, fol. 352; *The registers of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, London*, ed. A. W. Cornelius Hallen (London, 1889), I, 12. Considerable information about the Bassanos (or Vassanos) is given by Hunter, folia 85-87.

<sup>10</sup> MS Harley 1080, fol. 352. Philip became purvavent in the College of Arms (see Noble, *History of the College of Arms*, pp. 188, 251-52; John Weever, *Antient funeral monuments* [London, 1767], p. 428; *N&Q*, IV [1851], 354). He was dead by December 17, 1625, when his office of Portcullis was granted to Thomas Preston (*Calendar of state papers, domestic series, of the reign of Charles I, 1625, 1626*, ed. John Bruce [London, 1858], p. 554).

<sup>11</sup> *Abstracts of inquisitions post mortem for the city of London returned into the Court of Chancery during the Tudor period, Part III: 19-45 Elizabeth, 1577-1603*, ed. Edw. Alex. Fry, *The index library* (London, 1908), pp. 145-46.

<sup>12</sup> MS Harley 1080, fol. 352. They had three children—William, Thomas, and Mary—of whom I have found no other record.

<sup>13</sup> *A calendar of the Inner Temple records*, ed. F. A. Inderwick, I (London, 1896), 441.

<sup>14</sup> Records of the grant, which was confirmed by Robert Cooke, are to be found in British Museum MSS Harley 1507, fol. 89<sup>r</sup>, and 1422, fol. 121<sup>v</sup>.

It may be inferred from his treatment of Chaucer's Retraction in the additions he made to MS Gg (see below, pp. 299 ff.) that he was a Protestant (cf. John M. Manly and Edith Rickert, *The text of the Canterbury tales* [Chicago, 1940], I, 182). At the end of his paper on the antiquity of mottoes he says that his own is "Fortitudo mea Deus" (*Collection of curious discourses*, I, 265).

death, like that of his birth, is unknown; nor can it be accurately inferred. All that is clear is that he was still living in 1605, for on May 16 of that year John Doddrige gave him the chartulary of Reading Abbey, now British Museum MS Cotton Vespasian E.V.<sup>15</sup>

Of Holand's personal life, nothing more is known; but a little can be learned of the people with whom he was acquainted, and the evidence of his intellectual interests and activities is clear. He knew the heralds in the College of Arms, and he must, of course, have known personally his fellow-members in the Society of Antiquaries.<sup>16</sup> Francis Thynne, the animadverter on Speght's 1598 edition of Chaucer, knew Holand well enough to borrow a manuscript from him in 1604 or 1605,<sup>17</sup> and, if John Stow was not a friend, he at least had access to Holand's collection of

<sup>15</sup> According to Holand's signed note on fol. 1. In the heading to the notes Francis Thynne excerpted from it into his commonplace book (British Museum MS Stowe 1047, item 7[d], fol. 113), Thynne says that Holand lent the manuscript to him on March 11, 1604; this statement would seem to be an error, though it is not impossible that Holand had the manuscript in his possession before it was actually given to him.

Noble says that Holand was still living in 1617, but without giving any evidence (*History of the College of Arms*, p. 252). Inasmuch as Noble was not certain that Joseph Holand was the father of Philip (*ibid.*), his unsupported statement is not particularly impressive. If Holand was one of the original members of the Society of Antiquaries, Spelman thought him dead in 1614 (William Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Edmund Gibson [London, 1772], I, xxv]).

<sup>16</sup> The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries should be made the object of special study. That much of the published information about it, especially the lists of members, is unreliable was shown by Dr. Marc Friedlaender in a paper, "The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries: a re-examination," read before discussion group English IV at the 1939 meeting of the M.L.A. With this qualification, reference may be made to Hearne, *Collection of curious discourses*, *passim*; *Archæologia*, I (1770), i-xxxix; Ewald Flügel, "Die älteste englische Akademie," *Anglia*, XXXII (1909), 261-68. See also V. cl. Gulielmi Camdeni, *et illustrium virorum ad G. Camendum epistolae . . .* ed. Thomas Smith (London, 1691), pp. 1-401, *passim*; Thomas Smith, "Vita D. Roberti Cottoni," *Vitæ selectæ quorundam eruditissimorum ac illustrium virorum* (Vratislaviae, 1711), pp. 434-536; Sir Henry Spelman, *Reliquiae Spelmanianæ*, ed. Edmund Gibson (Oxford, 1698), p. 69.

<sup>17</sup> See above, n. 15.

charters, for in his *Survey of London* he cites from it one granted "to Ralfe B[ishop]. of Chichester, and all the ministers of Sussex" by Henry II.<sup>18</sup> Sir Robert Cotton was familiar with the content of the so-called "Middle English translation" of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* in MS Arundel XXII, which Holand owned.<sup>19</sup> Archbishop Usher may have met Holand on one of his visits to London, but the matter is uncertain; he could have learned of the coin, "argenteum unum quem habuit M. Josephus Hollandus," to which he refers in the *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates*,<sup>20</sup> from his friend Cotton. By one of the prominent lawyers among his contemporaries, John Doddridge, Holand was given the chartulary of Reading Abbey which he lent to Thynne;<sup>21</sup> to another, Sir Edward Coke, he made a gift of an early deed.<sup>22</sup> And on August 10, 1600, "the young Earle of Desmond gaue Joseph Holland Sattin for a dublet for y<sup>e</sup> originall" of a bond given by James, count of Desmond, to Richard, duke of York, in the reign of Henry VI.<sup>23</sup>

Although Prince says that Holand became learned "in the Study of the Common Law,"<sup>24</sup> there is no evidence that he did or that the law itself was of particular

<sup>18</sup> "Everyman's library" ed. (London, 1923), p. 22. Stow also knew MS Gg when it was in Holand's possession (see Manly and Rickert, I, 182).

<sup>19</sup> In his paper, "The antiquity, authority, and succession of the high steward of England," Cotton refers to "an English translation very aunciently written" of Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Collection of curious discourses*, II, 2). There is no reason to doubt that the reference is to the text purporting to be a translation of Geoffrey in MS Arundel XXII (see n. 32 below). In his paper on the same subject Holand refers to it in almost identical words (*Collection of curious discourses*, II, 23).

<sup>20</sup> Works, ed. Elrington, V (Dublin, 1864), 58.

<sup>21</sup> See above, n. 15.

<sup>22</sup> The reports of Sir Edward Coke, Knt., ed. John Henry Thomas and John Farquhar Fraser, V (London, 1826), preface to "Third reports," p. xxv.

<sup>23</sup> MS 128, Library of the Society of Antiquaries, London (Book B of Weever's collections), fol. 577.

<sup>24</sup> Worthies of Devon, p. 261.

interest to him. It was rather "in several other Curious and Polite sorts of Literature"<sup>25</sup> that he made such reputation as has been preserved. Genealogy, heraldry, and antiquarian studies were his avocation, if they did not, indeed, occupy the major part of his time. His interest in ancestors and coats-of-arms, in which the family of Holland and the Devonshire nobility play a prominent part, must have occupied much of his time. Even aside from the fact that Wood, Prince, and Noble seem to have known him best for his heraldic pursuits, one gains the clear impression from the references to him in the heraldic collections among the Harleian manuscripts that he was known and respected as an authority on "descents and coats of arms." He seems to have exchanged information with the heralds at the College of Arms; he left a considerable number of genealogies and family trees; and it was from a manuscript said to have belonged to him that "most of the MS. copies of the . . . [Carlaverok, First Dunstable, and Parliamentary] Rolls . . . were derived."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> James Greenstreet and Charles Russell, "Reference list of the rolls of arms, and other early authorities for ancient coat armour," *The genealogist*, V (1881), 94; see further, *ibid.*, pp. 8, 16, 17.

A detailed account of Holand's genealogical and heraldic activities would be beside the point here—and I am not qualified to give it. British Museum MS Harley 1500 contains a large number of items that are attributed to Holand by the Harleian Catalogue, that are signed by him, or that seem to me to be in his hand. British Museum MS Lansdowne 689, "A catalogue of the library of the College or Office of Heralds, London. By R[obert]. D[ale]. B[lanche]. L[ion]." compiled at different times between ca. 1690 and 1710, lists three heraldic manuscripts in Philipot's collection in the College of Arms that it attributes to Holand (fols. 38 and 43). Cf. further British Museum MS Harley 245, fols. 68v-70v, 71-73v (references to seals and other materials "ex cartis . . . Josephi Holland"); Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, Vol. I, col. 521; Prince, *Worthies of Devon*, p. 261; Noble, *History of the College of Arms*, p. 252; N&Q, IV (1851), 354; Anthony Richard Wagner, *Heralds and heraldry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1939), p. 109. MS Gough Somerset 1, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, appears from a heading on fol. 1 to have been copied from a collection of Holand's.

But it was not only genealogical data that Holand collected. In one of his antiquarian papers he mentions his "divers antiquities in coin,"<sup>27</sup> and numerous references in *A collection of curious discourses*<sup>28</sup>—and elsewhere by other writers—to charters and documents in Holand's possession indicate that he was not badly supplied with original materials for research.<sup>29</sup> In addition to the Lovel Lectionary and the chartulary of Reading Abbey, Holand owned other manuscripts of greater interest to the student of early English literature: the fourteenth-century MS Arundel XXII in the College of Arms, London; the Chaucer codex, Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27; and perhaps a manuscript of the Middle English *Brut*—though the note in which his signature occurs might have been written in a manuscript belonging to someone else.<sup>30</sup> He also owned a Latin manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*.

Both MS Arundel XXII and MS Gg.4.27 reflect Holand's interests and habits as a scholar. Manuscript Arundel XXII, which contains a text of the *Seige of Troye*<sup>31</sup> and what represents itself as

<sup>27</sup> *Collection of curious discourses*, I, 39.

<sup>28</sup> II, 33, 39, 40, 94, 179, 180; II, 112, 194.

<sup>29</sup> Holand's possession of such documents was independently noticed by Dr. Marc Friedlaender in his unpublished University of Chicago dissertation, "Growth in the resources for studies in earlier English history, 1534–1625" (1938), p. 56, on the basis of the references by Stow and Coke (see above, nn. 18 and 22).

<sup>30</sup> Hunterian MS T.2.19, fol. 38v. See John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *A catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1908).

One other Holand manuscript should perhaps be mentioned. British Museum MS Cotton Faustina C.XI, "Summonitiones parliamentorum 24 Edw. I—13 Ric. II. Compendium libri domesday," which bears Holand's signature with the date 1590 at the end of the summonses on fol. 57, and again with the date March 5, 1598, at the end of the Domesday extracts on fol. 182, is written in a formal English hand that may be Holand's. The informal hand that appears in some of the marginal notes in the Domesday section (e.g., on fol. 69v) is almost certainly his.

<sup>31</sup> Fols. 1–8. Published by Mary Elizabeth Barnicle, *The seige or batayle of Troye* ("E.E.T.S.: original

being a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*,<sup>32</sup> was a frequently cited source of information in the papers Holand presented to the Society of Antiquaries. The manuscript was defective at the end, apparently because of the loss of a final leaf or leaves, and Holand made an "addition," as he says, out of an "auncient originale written in lattine by Geffersay of Monmouth de gestis britonum" which he had.<sup>33</sup> An "auncient originale" must certainly be a manuscript, and there is confirmatory evidence in the addition itself, which states that with the Saxons there came "a queene that was a widowe, whose name was Sexburga" and which gives 679 instead of 689 as the date of Cadwallader's death.<sup>34</sup> Nothing in the printed texts corresponds,<sup>35</sup> but Faral's MS P (Bibliothèque

series," No. 172 [London, 1927]). See also University of Texas, *Studies in English*, 1941, p. 7, n. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Fols. 8–50v. In reality, it seems on the whole to be closer to Wace's *Brut*—but I have compared only sample passages. An edition is being prepared by Professor C. Bowie Millican, apparently the first modern scholar to pay any attention to it ("The first English translation of the *Prophecies of Merlin*," *Royal memorial studies*, SP, XXVIII [1931], 188 n. 1).

I have not seen the manuscript but have used the photograph (Library of Congress, Modern Language Association Deposit, No. 310). The manuscript has been described by [William Henry Black], *Catalogue of the Arundel manuscripts in the library of the College of Arms* (London, 1829), pp. 31–33; Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive catalogue of materials relating to the history of Great Britain and Ireland to the reign of Henry VII*, I, Part I ("Rolls series") [London, 1862], 356–57; Barnicle, pp. xvii–xviii. Hardy is completely dependent on Black. In her account of the provenance of the manuscript, Miss Barnicle confuses Joseph Holand the antiquary with a contemporary Oxford don.

<sup>33</sup> Fol. 82.

<sup>34</sup> Fol. 81.

<sup>35</sup> *Historia regum Britanniae*, ed. Edmond Faral, *La Légende arthurienne, études et documents*, Première partie: *Les plus anciens textes* ("Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études: sciences historiques et philologiques," Fasc. 257 [Paris, 1929]), III, 301, 302. *The historia regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. Acton Griscom (London, 1929), pp. 532, 534. I assume on the basis of Griscom's account of the relations of the earlier printed texts (which I have not been able to consult on this point) to each other and of the relation of Evans' translation to those texts

nationale 6233) reads *quadam nobilissima regina sexburgis nomine que vidua fuerat for nefandus populus ille*,<sup>38</sup> and gives the date 679.<sup>37</sup>

Manuscript Gg.4.27<sup>38</sup> was also defective, though for another reason. At some time Gg had been sadly mutilated, and it was obviously to supply the lost passages in the text that Holand added the leaves which I call Gga,<sup>39</sup> although the job was not completely carried out, and much that could never have been in the manuscript was included. That Holand was responsible for Gga cannot, perhaps, be completely

proved, for neither his signature nor his hand certainly appears in it.<sup>40</sup> But the a priori probability is so great as to be almost convincing by itself; the ink in which his name was written on folio 5 of Gg seems to have been used also in Gga;<sup>41</sup> and the English hand looks to me as though it may well be the same as that in MS Cotton Faustina C.XI.<sup>42</sup>

Aside from a text of "Gentilesse," which is independent of all other known manuscripts and the printed editions of Chaucer,<sup>43</sup> the material in Gga is of no textual interest. It is all taken directly from Speght's 1598 edition, except for the Retraction, which is from Caxton's second edition.<sup>44</sup> In addition to the textual matter, Gga took over a great deal of Speght's prefatory material, his table of

(ibid., pp. 10-18) that the translation (*Histories of the kings of Britain*, trans. Sebastian Evans [*"Everyman's library"*] (London, 1928), pp. 221, 222), which agrees with Faral and Griscom, adequately represents the earlier printed texts that might have been available to Holand.

<sup>38</sup> Faral, p. 301. Professor J. Hammer informs me (letter, March 31, 1942) that he has "found 16 more manuscripts containing the Sexburgis passage." I have not been able to identify any of these as Holand's.

<sup>39</sup> Faral, p. 302.

<sup>40</sup> In my unpublished University of Chicago dissertation, "Linguistic peculiarities of the Cambridge University Library Manuscript Gg.4.27" (1938), pp. 7-8, I suggested on the basis of circumstantial evidence that the manuscript had once been in Holand's possession. This suggestion was accepted as probable by Manly and Rickett, I, 182. When I first had the opportunity of examining the manuscript itself—in the summer of 1939, too late for my discovery to be included in their *The text of the Canterbury tales*—I was lucky enough to confirm the suggestion. In the lower left corner of the first extant folio (5) of Gg is the erasure of the name JOSEPH HOLAND and the date 1600. No more than an almost imperceptible greenish tinge remains of the ink. The "a" and "n" appear only under a strong red light, as does enough of the "L" (an "L" fits the space perfectly) to make the reading certain. The other letters of the name and the numerals of the date are easily made out once they have been noticed at all.

To Mr. Harold Pink, of the University Library, I owe my sincere thanks for helping me with this erasure, and for re-examining it for me after I had left Cambridge and the manuscript had been put away because of the war.

<sup>41</sup> This is clearly shown by the old foliation of the manuscript; and cf. *A catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge*, III (Cambridge, 1858), 172. When the manuscript was rebound, presumably under the direction of Henry Bradshaw, the leaves of Gga were placed at the end, where they are now foliated separately, 1-35, and the manuscript was refoliated to take account of the lost leaves.

<sup>42</sup> Two, possibly more, hands appear—Italian on fol. 2-22<sup>v</sup>, 29<sup>v</sup>, 35, and English on fol. 23-25<sup>v</sup>, 33-34<sup>v</sup>. In the glossary, fol. 30-32<sup>v</sup>, the words to be defined are in an Italian hand that may be different from that on fol. 2-22<sup>v</sup>, etc.; the definitions are in an English hand, probably the same as that on fol. 23-28<sup>v</sup>, etc. The differences between the Italian hands are very slight. It is not impossible that the same person wrote both the Italian and the English hands (cf., e.g., W. W. Greg, *English literary autographs, 1550-1650* (London, 1925-32), Vol. I, No. XII). The writing is so highly calligraphic throughout as to make any attempt at identification precarious. The Italian hand looks to me very similar to that in MS Harley 7026, but Dr. Robin Flower, who compared the two, using a photostat of Gga, did not believe they were the same.

<sup>43</sup> It is perhaps the green but more probably, I think, the blue that appears here and there in Gga and in headings in Gg. This blue leaves the same greenish tinge when it is erased as that which appears about the erasure of the name—as does also the blue used by Holand or his amanuensis in MS Harley 7026.

<sup>44</sup> See above, n. 30. Cf., e.g., the hand on fol. 67 of Cotton Faustina C.XI.

<sup>45</sup> On a badly deteriorated piece of vellum pasted on fol. 1<sup>v</sup>; the hand is Italian, probably different from that on fol. 2-22<sup>v</sup>, etc. F. N. Robinson says it is "unpublished and unclassified" (*The complete works of Geoffrey Chaucer* [*"Student's Cambridge edition"* (Boston, 1933)], p. 1037). I hope soon to discuss this text fully in a separate study.

<sup>46</sup> The Retraction, which is on fol. 29<sup>v</sup> of Gga, is not found in any edition between Pynson's (1526) and Urry's (1721). Gga omits I, 1081-83, and *Wherfore* of I, 1084; from that point it shares all variants of Cx<sup>2</sup> and nowhere agrees with any edition or other manuscript against Cx<sup>2</sup>.

contents and his arguments to the poems, and it freely adapted his glossary.<sup>45</sup>

In the account of Chaucer's life in Gga, Holand depended primarily on Speght's 1598 edition, pasting Speght's frontispiece (in which he colored the coats-of-arms)<sup>46</sup> on the recto of folio 3, and greatly condensing Speght's "Life" on folio 5, for the most part keeping the statements of fact but omitting the arguments and elaborate comments. As Holand had gone out-

<sup>45</sup> For an account of the glossary see "An Elizabethan Chaucer glossary," Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27," *MLN*, LVIII (1943), 374-75.

<sup>46</sup> This frontispiece has been reproduced by Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Five hundred years of Chaucer criticism and allusion* (Cambridge, 1925), I, facing p. 147, but so reduced that the tricking of the coats-of-arms about the portrait of Chaucer does not appear clearly. Holand correctly colored the coats in accordance with this tricking. All but two of the labeled coats are those given to the same persons by William Berry, *Encyclopaedia heraldica, or complete dictionary of heraldry* (London, n.d.), Vol. II; the two exceptions, the arms attributed to Burghersh and to John, duke of Bedford, agree with arms recorded for them in the sixteenth century as given by *Two Tudor books of arms. Harleian MSS. 2189 & 6163*, [ed. John Foster] ("The De Walden library" [n.p., n.d.]).

In connection with Holand's acceptance of Speght's frontispiece and of Glover's pedigree, Russell Krauss's condemnation of Speght and Glover ("Chaucerian problems, especially the Petherton forestership and the question of Thomas Chaucer," *Three Chaucer studies*, by Russell Krauss, Haldean Braddy, C. Robert Kase [New York, 1932], pp. 50-56) should be noticed. If Glover, as Mr. Krauss (who seems to have been familiar only with Miss Spurgeon's reproduction of the frontispiece) thinks, constructed the Chaucer-Burghersh Impalement "from heraldic principles without having seen a legitimate example of it" in order to make "heraldic remains fit his hypothesis" (*ibid.*, p. 53), Holand was either stupidly taken in by, or knowingly acquiesced in, the fabrication. The truth of the matter is, of course, that Glover's pedigree was "based on sound heraldic evidence," Lee's Oxfordshire "Gatherings," which contain the record of the Chaucer-Burghersh Impalement in Woodstock Church, and that Glover had nothing to do with the mistakes in the reproduction of Chaucer's tomb, which "was done by John Spede, who hath annexed thereto all such cotes of Armes, as any way concern the Chaucers, as he found them (travailing for that purpose) at Ewhelme and at Wickham" (Speght's Preface, quoted by Eleanor Prescott Hammond, *Chaucer: a bibliographical manual* [New York, 1908], p. 29; the italics are mine). (My references to Speght's Preface are to the more generally accessible reprint in the *Manual* rather than to the 1598 edition, which is not available to me as I write.) Holand should have been able to determine the correctness of the pedigree and the arms; there is no evidence that he had ever seen the tomb.

side Speght for the text of "Gentilesse" and for the Retraction, so he seems to have done also for the Latin verses about Chaucer's tomb, which he quotes.<sup>47</sup> The main point in which Gga differs from Speght is the substitution of the direct statement, "there is a record in the same howse [the Inner Temple], where GEFFREY CHAVCER was fined at two shillinges, for beatinge a franciscane fryer in fetestrete," for Speght's reference to Master Buckley.<sup>48</sup> Taken at their face value, the words "there is a record" would indicate that Holand had seen the record, our knowledge of which has depended solely on Speght's citation of Master Buckley.<sup>49</sup> The question is one that cannot be finally argued, but to me it seems probable that he had seen it.<sup>50</sup> If he had not, his accept-

<sup>47</sup> Speght gave the verses, "now cleane worne out" (*ibid.*, p. 35), in his second edition (1602). It is possible that Holand got these verses from the second edition, but two facts make this improbable. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, the date "1600" on fol. 5 of Gg seems to indicate that Gga was prepared before the appearance of Speght's second edition. In the text of the poems, Gga is with the first edition rather than the second where the two differ. The closeness of Gga to the first edition in the "Life" is shown by the retention of the statement that Gower in his *Confessio amantis* makes Chaucer "as it were the Judge of his works" (cf. *ibid.*, p. 22), which was omitted in the second edition in accordance with Thynne's correction (*Animadversions*, ed. F. J. Furnivall ["Chaucer Society publications: second series," No. 13 (Oxford, 1928)], pp. 18-19). There is not, as far as I know, any reason for believing that Holand got the verses from Speght before the appearance of the 1602 edition.

<sup>48</sup> Hammond, *Manual*, p. 22. On Master Buckley and the record see Edith Rickert, "Was Chaucer a student at the Inner Temple?" *Manly anniversary studies in language and literature* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 20-31.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Manly and Rickert, I, 182: "He [the sixteenth-seventeenth-century owner of the manuscript] had possibly seen the record of Chaucer in the Inner Temple records. . . ."

<sup>50</sup> As a member of the Inner Temple, he would have had access to the records; considering his habits and interests, it is more likely than not that he would have been familiar with them, even though he nowhere specifically cites them in his published papers. He did consult and cite other records, and his interest in Chaucer is proved by his ownership and treatment of Gg, perhaps especially by his pains to get the Retraction. So far as inferences about them can be drawn, his methods as a scholar are such as to make

ance of Speght's statement testifies to Buckley's reliability as a witness.

Holand was not a great scholar. Rather, he seems to have belonged to that devoted body of amateurs who, either not interested in making large syntheses or not capable of making them, but devoted to the minutiae of antiquarian research, have, on the one hand, given the historians materials with which to work and, on the other, a constant audience. As a collector, he did good work in bringing together coins, manuscripts, charters, and documents, which he made available to others and which he utilized himself. The range of interests revealed by his own contributions to the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries<sup>51</sup> is not inconsiderable, and his scholarly method is sound for the period in which he worked. He shows an admirable preference for original sources of information when they are available to him, and he is consistently careful to indicate his sources. When he makes a citation, his citation is accurate and his statement of what he found in his source de-

it appear to me unlikely that the change in wording was merely inadvertent.

<sup>51</sup> See *Collection of curious discourses*, *passim*. Hearne published six of Holand's papers from British Museum MS Stowe 1045 (*Archaeologia*, I, vi; *DNB*, s.v. "Tate, Francis"; *Catalogue of the Stowe manuscripts* in the first edition (Oxford, 1720); fourteen more were added in Ayloffe's greatly augmented second edition (London, 1771), to which all my references are made. British Museum MS Cotton Faustina E.V contains sixteen papers shown to be Holand's by the presence of his signature: the six published by Hearne in 1720, eight of the fourteen added in 1771, and two that have not been published. The other six papers added in 1771 do not have Holand's signature if they are in MS Cotton Faustina E.V. One of these had been published by John Doddridge. *The several opinions of sundry learned antiquaries . . . touching the antiquity, power . . . and proceedings of the high-court of Parliament in England* (London, 1658), pp. 88-90; the original draft of this paper is said to be in John Gurney's MS No. XXXII (*Historical Manuscripts Commission. Twelfth report*, Appendix, Part IX [1891], p. 159).

pendable.<sup>52</sup> The most serious charge that can be brought against him as a scholar is that, in common with many men of his age, he was not sufficiently critical of his sources. The Middle English version of the *Historia regum Britanniae* in MS Arundel XXII, for example, was clearly his vade mecum,<sup>53</sup> tempting him especially with its explanations of the names of places. This is not to say, however, that he blindly accepts everything that he finds in book or manuscript; rather, he suspends judgment when he is uncertain of the interpretation of his evidence or when there is reason for doubting its accuracy.<sup>54</sup> His criticism, if it can be called that at all, is not searching, it is true; but it does indicate a commendable reluctance to jump at unwarranted conclusions and an intellectual honesty that refused to make unsubstantiated statements or to twist sources into accordance with pre-conceived opinions.

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<sup>52</sup> In the references which I have followed up, I have found but one trifling error. In his paper, "Of the antiquity of parliaments in England," Holand correctly states that "upon the parliament roll, anno 14 (or 15) E.3. there are divers writs directed to sundry earls and barons, *de veniendo ad Regem*" (*Collection of curious discourses*, I, 307; cf. Rymer's *Foedera*, II, ii, 1183-84 [A.D. 1341, 15 Edw. III]), but he mistakenly says that the first, which is to William de Bohun, count of Northampton, is to William, earl of Southampton. He gets the number of men-at-arms William was ordered to bring correct, and the other names that he mentions are included with the numbers of men that he gives.

<sup>53</sup> Passage after passage is underlined in the manuscript and then referred to in one or another of his papers.

<sup>54</sup> E.g., his uncertainty about interpreting the term *dux* in pre-Conquest charters (*Collection of curious discourses*, I, 180); his doubts about deriving Britain from Brutus (*ibid.*, p. 94). With the latter should be compared the disclaimer, similar even in wording, quoted by George Williamson ("Hakewill and the Arthurian legend," *MLN*, L [1935], 462) from Dr. George Hakewill's *Apologie or declaration of the power and providence of God in the government of the world* (3d ed.; London, 1635), p. 9.

## THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE MURDERS IN THE RUE MORGUE, AND POE'S REVISIONS<sup>1</sup>

ERNEST BOLL

THE manuscript of Poe's short story *The murders in the Rue Morgue* was presented to the Drexel Institute of Technology in 1891 by George W. Childs, of Philadelphia.<sup>2</sup> Its previous history is told in a letter bound in with the manuscript and dated at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, July 26, 1881. The writer, J. M. Johnston, who sold the manuscript to Mr. Childs, was an apprentice in the office, situated at No. 33 Carter's Alley, Philadelphia, of Barrett and Thrasher, the firm printing the periodical in which the story first appeared, *Graham's magazine*. After the story was set up in type and the proof had been read, the manuscript was dropped into a wastebasket. Johnston retrieved it and was allowed to have it. He turned over the prize for safekeeping to his father, who folded it inside a music book; and in this armor it survived the perils of a house-moving rubbish heap, three fires, and an ash pile before it was rescued, removed, and bound.

The manuscript is composed of seventeen leaves measuring generally seven and a half inches by twelve and a half and pasted upon a heavy paper backing. It is bound in morocco. The leaves vary in their discoloration from light; the first page has become deeply tanned and the tenth nearly as tanned. Other leaves are of paler shades of discoloration, a few being little affected. Most of the leaves

<sup>1</sup> This study owes its being to the generosity of the trustees of the Drexel Institute of Technology, who gave me permission to make it, and to the kindnesses of the controller, Dr. W. Ralph Wagenseiler, and of the secretary, Mr. C. T. Bach, who arranged for the examination of the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the librarian, Dr. Marie Hamilton Law.

bear stains of undetermined origin. The normal handwriting is a fine, neat script varying slightly in thickness of stroke and roundness of movement. There are some passages of re-written script that are markedly thicker in stroke and of so much greater breadth of movement as to trespass upon the margins usually held to by the ordinary writing.

Pages v and ix consist of patches pasted together upon a paper backing. The first part of page v has ten lines in the script of the preceding pages; the second part has forty-nine lines in the markedly thicker stroke and broadly spaced writing. Page ix has five motley patches of differently stained paper and of varying width. The first patch, of seven lines, in the normal, fine handwriting, is followed by a section of fourteen lines in the larger script. The third patch is of two lines, in the same script. The fourth is fourteen lines long and matches the finer writing in the first patch. The fifth, on a much lighter paper, has thirty lines in the finer script, but it is evidently not a part of the original version. A partly legible interpolation appearing in the right margin of the first part and re-written as an interpolation into the fourth part urges the probability that parts two and three must be interpolations rather than re-writings.

On the top of page vi, beginning in the middle of the left margin, there are written in three words left over from the re-written piece on page v; they start off a bracketed parenthesis: "[The word 'af-faire.' ]"

I have formulated a simple code by which the changes on the manuscript and

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in the proof can be apprehended in a continuous reading. Deletions are inclosed in brackets. Interpolations are shown in italics. Substitutions are marked as deletions giving way to (>) interpolations. Transpositions are regarded as words deleted in one place and interpolated in another. Any interpolation or substitute that was eventually deleted is, of course, also inclosed in brackets. Italics happening to appear in passages of the text chosen for quotation have been printed in roman type to preclude any conflict with our symbols. Outside quotation marks occurring in the text have been omitted from quoted passages for maximum simplicity of presentation. All corrections inferred through a comparison of the manuscript with the first printed version to have been made on the proof are introduced by the symbol *P.C.*

The printed text chosen as a reference locating the various changes is that for which the manuscript was prepared: *Graham's magazine* for April, 1841 (Vol. XVIII). The pagination of the manuscript is in Roman numbers. The pagination of the periodical is in Arabic numerals. A paragraph continued from the previous page is counted as number one.

### I

Poe concerned himself as a critic of his own writing with even the slightest details of form: matters of spelling, punctuation, and grammar. It will become clear as we examine the differences between manuscript and printed readings that the typesetters followed Poe literally in all his peculiarities of spelling and punctuation.<sup>3</sup> A difference can be accepted as the result of Poe's editing. The obvious exceptions and the doubtful cases are negligible.

<sup>3</sup> But two obvious errors by the typesetter that escaped detection are "vigorous" for MS "rigorous" on p. ii (p. 167, par. 4), and "or the party" for MS "of the party" on p. vii (p. 171, par. 4).

On page ii the spelling "embarrasment" occurs in both writings of a transposed passage; it was corrected in the proof. "Embarrassed" was written correctly on page iii, after an erasure. On page iii "visitors" is so spelled, but it was changed in the proof to "visiters." "Visiter" is the spelling found twice on page xv; it was left unchanged for print. "Connexions" on page vi was allowed to stand. On page v we first see the word "clew"; the spelling was carried over. But the manuscript "clue" on three later pages was scrupulously altered in the proof to the former spelling, "clew." The spelling "endeavour" occurs twice; it was Americanized in the proof. "Neighbour" also was Americanized in the proof in all its five appearances, as was "enamoured," too, in its one occurrence. A doubtful case is that of the word "grey," which is so spelled on both page v and page xi but which alternates in print from "grey" to "gray." The word "discolored" was spelled so in both manuscript and print. The spelling "corborrates" on page vi was rectified with a single deleting stroke on the manuscript, and the word is spelled correctly on page vii. An erasure on page iii was helpful in turning "sylable" into "syllable." The manuscript "downwards" became by *P.C.* "downward" on its two occurrences; and "afterwards" also lost its manuscript *s* in two proof changes. But Poe was not consistent in dropping the *s* from adverbs of direction: "towards" occurs four times in the manuscript; twice it was changed in the proof to "toward," and twice it remained. In six out of eight times Poe dropped the final *s* of these adverbs, but his first spelling of them consistently includes the *s*. "Cobler" appears three times in the manuscript, exactly as in print.

Three times an ampersand connecting two nouns was properly changed by *P.C.* into "and."

Poe had his difficulties with French words. He first wrote "gens d'armes" on page v (p. 169), but he corrected the reading on the manuscript to "gendarmes." An erasure at the end of the word "Montmartre" (p. ii; p. 167) suggests difficulties with the spelling.<sup>4</sup> The proof sheets would have shown further revisions of accents on French words. MS "Théâtre" became *P.C.* "Théâtre" (twice); MS "Musêt" became *P.C.* "Musêt"; and "charlatanerie" became *P.C.* "charlatânerie."

On the proof there were some changes in capitalization: "banker" once became "Banker"; "Ourang-outang" became "Ourang-Outang" (once only); the "Mon Dieu" spoken by Odenheimer was reduced to "mon dieu"; and a "Sir" became "sir."

Only one important change in punctuation appears in the manuscript, the indication of a paragraph on page ii (p. 167, par. 5); the new topic of that paragraph obviously justifies the indentation. But a comparison of the manuscript with the printed version discloses that many carefully considered changes in punctuation were made upon the proof sheets. The number of occurrences exceeding one of each kind of specified change is given in parentheses.

*Interpolations.*—Commas were inserted singly or, rarely, in pairs to separate or strengthen the separation of an adverbial phrase (8); an adverbial clause (4); an adverbial conjunction (3); a simple adjective phrase (3); an adjective clause (4); a conjunctive phrase (3); an active participle (4); a passive participle (2); a nominative absolute; an appositional phrase (2); a noun in apposition; a parenthesis, the

<sup>4</sup> On p. iii (p. 167, par. 5) Poe left blank a space following the words "desolate portion of the . . . ." Later, in a thicker stroke, and at a new slant of the base line, he wrote in the name "Faubourg St. Germain." In the proof he deleted the word "Messieurs" on p. vii in the title of the firm "Messieurs Mignaud et Fils."

comma being used chiefly inside the parenthetical curve (6); a quotation (3); and also to separate the elements of a compound subject (2), a compound predicate (2), a compound adverbial phrase, a compound infinitive, a series of nouns, and a series of adjectives. An interrogation mark was added to point a question and a colon to introduce a quotation. Single quotes were added to hold up a word to especial attention (2). A foreign word was marked to be italicized and a hyphen inserted.<sup>5</sup>

*Substitutions.*—A comma was substituted once for a semicolon to reduce the emphasis of a clause; for the first of a pair of parenthetical dashes; and for a dash introducing a quotation. A semicolon was substituted for a period to improve coherence; for a dash introducing a quotation; and for a dash used to set off an appositional phrase. A dash replaced a comma to make the defining marks of a parenthesis uniform.

*Corrections.*—Twice a comma appearing after a quotation mark was shifted on the proof to precede the quotation sign. In one passage the double strokes of an internal quotation were changed on the proof to single strokes to alternate with the marks of the surrounding quotation.<sup>6</sup>

*Deletions.*—Punctuation marks also disappeared by way of the proof. Poe removed commas separating conjunctions (4), adverbial phrases (3), an adjective phrase, and elements of a compound verb. A dash used after a semicolon to separate two clauses, a period preceding a dash,

<sup>5</sup> Poe was not consistent in his use of a hyphen in the word "Ourang-Outang." A MS hyphen on p. xiv did not appear in print; in the very next paragraph (p. 176, par. 13) the word was written without the hyphen and so appeared in print. Elsewhere the hyphen was used.

<sup>6</sup> In his use of quotation signs, Poe was inconsistent. He used either single or double strokes for simple quotations and varied the marks of internal quotations accordingly. "Le Tribunal" he enclosed with double strokes but "Le Monde" with single strokes.

and a hyphen erroneously tying two words were struck out of the proof.

Poe's actively analyzing mind was alert also in detecting errors in grammar. A substitution on page v (p. 169, par. 6) corrected one slip:

The body, as well as the head, [were] > *was* fearfully mutilated. . . .

An interpolation of a word on page xi (p. 174, par. 3) tightened a loose sentence: It resisted all my efforts, as I *had* anticipated.

An erasure and a substitution on page iii (p. 167, par. 6) resolved an uncertainty over the proper pronoun:

We admitted no visitors [whatever] > *whomsoever*.

A similar change in a passage on page iv (p. 168, par. 12) was made as a P.C.:

I know no fruiterer [whatever] > *whomsoever*.

Elsewhere in the manuscript one observes confusion over the use of a pronoun to refer to the ape. On page xiv (p. 177, par. 1) the soliloquy in which Dupin imagines the thought of the sailor-owner of the ape contains two alterations in the pronoun, both instances showing a change from the masculine gender to the neuter: why should I lose [him] > *it* through idle apprehensions of danger? . . . I will answer the advertisement—get the Ourang-Outang, and keep [him] > *it* close until this matter has blown over.

The change was made in the same direction in the wording of Dupin's advertisement in *Le Monde* on page xiv (p. 176, par. 15):

paying a few charges arising from [his] > *its* capture. . . .

In the opening paragraphs of the sailor's reported conversation with Dupin (p. 177), the masculine pronoun is used and allowed to stand. At the beginning of the summary of the sailor's account following

that introductory dialogue, the reference is neutral, and the masculine pronoun was changed in the manuscript to the neuter form (p. 177, par. 20):

in lodging [him] > *it* safely. . . .

As the summary proceeds the reference changes to the masculine and then to the neuter again; and again masculine pronouns are changed in the manuscript to the neuter form (p. 178, par. 4):

where [his master could intercept him] > *it might be intercepted* as [he] > *it* came down.

The summary winds up with masculine pronouns referring to the animal.

## II

Further changes supplied a more suggestive, exact, vivid, emphatic, or complete expression; or deleted sparable verbiage, a flaw in taste, or an inconsistency of form.

The very first substitution in the manuscript to catch the eye involves the name of the street. The title was, first, *The murders in the Rue Trianon-Bas*. The name of the street was then changed to "Rue Morgue" in the title on page i and in later occurrences of the original form. On page vii (p. 171, par. 2) the summary of Alfonzo Garcia's testimony refers to the undertaker as residing

in the Rue [ — (the street of the murder) > *Trianon*] > *Morgue*.

The substitution was made twice more on page xv (p. 177, pars. 14 and 17). On page xvi (p. 178, par. 3) the manuscript still reads

in the rear of the Rue Trianon . . . .

but the oversight was corrected in the proof. All four instances in the text of the name being written directly as "Rue Morgue" are accounted for by their occurrence in re-written passages on pages v and ix. French readers would reject "Rue

Morgue" as the name of a street in which murdered persons had been found because of its overliteral application. But upon English-speaking readers the French phrase has the primary effect of a macabre figure of speech and profoundly deepens the emotional suggestiveness of the original title with a chill of horrible anticipation.

Possibly to make the scene of the crowd breaking into the house more exact with reference to Parisian architecture, Poe made three changes on page vi (p. 170, par. 3), "front door" being emended to "gateway" and "door" being changed, twice, to "gate." A first manuscript writing of "gateway" on page v occurs in a re-written passage.

Greater exactness of expression resulted from two substitutions on page x (p. 173, par. 4):

Now, how strangely unusual must that voice have really been, about which such testimony as this could have been [given] > elicited! . . . No words—[nothing] > no sounds resembling words—[was] > were by any witness mentioned as distinguishable.

On page xii (p. 174, par. 7) "houses" was sharpened to "mansions"; and on page ix (p. 172, par. 3) "French" was narrowed to "Parisian." The advertisement which Dupin made up to lure the owner of the beast was first headed "FOUND"; but the later caption, "CAUGHT," is a more exact term for the pretended event (p. xiv; p. 176, par. 15). On page xv (p. 177, par. 6) a change concerns the sailor-visitor:

He . . . bade us "good evening" in French accents which, although somewhat Neufchâtel-ish, were still sufficiently [distinctive] > indicative of a Parisian origin.

A P.C. was responsible for this sharpening of a noun on page xvi (p. 178, par. 3): The shutter was kicked open again by the [ape] > *Ourang-Oudang*.

The Paris police are referred to in this comment on page viii (p. 171, par. 11):

They make a vast parade of measures; but not unfrequently these are so illy adapted to the [results] > objects proposed. . . .

On page ii (p. 167, par. 2):

It will be found, in fact, that the ingenious are always fanciful, and the [highly] > truly imaginative never otherwise than profoundly analytic.

On page xvii (p. 178, par. 7) Poe wrote "Chêf de police." But a P.C. altered the title to "Prefêt de police," which also appears on page ix in a re-written passage and with the same accent.

Several times the idiom of the first phrasing was not precisely enough adjusted to the meaning, but the second trial led to the correct connotation. On page v (p. 169, par. 4):

thick tresses of grey human hair, also dabbled in blood, and seeming to have been pulled [up] > out by the roots.

And on page ii (p. 167, par. 4):

This young gentleman . . . by a variety of untoward events, had been reduced to such poverty that the quondam energy of his character succumbed [before] > beneath it. . . .

A P.C. improved upon the idiom of a passage on page xi (p. 174, par. 5):

I had [tracked] > traced the secret to its ultimate result. . . .

On page iv (p. 168, par. 18):

You continued the same inaudible murmur, with a knit brow, as is the [habit] > custom of a man tasking his memory. . . .

Concreteness was promoted in several changes. On page vii (p. 171, par. 1):

The house was a four story one, with garrets, (*mansardes*).

And on the same page (par. 4):

By 'sweeps' were meant cylindrical sweeping-brushes. . . .

A P.C. (p. 176, par. 13) reads:

This, under the circumstances, has been justly characterized by one of the witnesses (*Montani, the confectioner*). . . . .

On page xiv (p. 176, par. 17):

a small piece of ribbon, . . . . used in tying the hair in *one* of those long queues of which sailors are so fond.

Greater emphasis resulted from still other alterations. On page xii (p. 175, par. 2):

My immediate purpose is to lead you to place in *juxta-position* that very unusual activity of which I have just spoken, [and] > *with* that very peculiar shrill (or harsh) and unequal voice. . . . .

On page xiv (p. 176, par. 13):

innocent of [the] > *this* atrocity. . . . .

On page xvi (p. 178, par. 4), the change makes for freshness as well as emphasis:

At this glimpse he nearly fell from his hold [in horror] > *through excess of horror*.

Emphasis was augmented through a substantial interpolation on page viii (p. 171, par. 11). To the derogation already heaped upon the Paris police, Poe added the passage beginning with "They make a vast parade of measures" and ending with "*pour mieux entendre la musique.*" A P.C. in a passage on page 178, paragraph 5, was responsible for an intensified meaning: he seemed desirous [of concealing] > *to conceal* his bloody deeds. . . . .

But another change, a P.C. (p. 174, par. 5), reduced emphasis:

There must be something wrong . . . . about [this] > *the nail*.

Re-reading could make Poe dissatisfied with a literary word and inclined toward a simpler, commoner one, as on page xvi (p. 178, par. 5).

His wandering and wild glances [adverted] > *fell* at this moment [to] > *upon* the head of the bed. . . . .

On page viii (p. 171, par. 11) Dupin remarks on the police methods:

We must not judge of the means by this [bizarrie] > *shell* of an examination.<sup>7</sup>

On page viii again (p. 171, par. 10) a nice economy is effected by the substitution of a simpler word:

[In regard to the perpetrator of the butchery] I saw no means by which it would be possible to trace [him] > *the murderer*.

But in this manuscript Poe as often put aside the commoner word of his first choosing to display a more literary word, as on page xiii (p. 176, par. 11).

It was a minute anatomical and generally descriptive account of the large [tawny] > *fulvous* Ourang-Outang of the East Indian Islands.

Later on Dupin, in phrasing the advertisement planned to catch the owner of the ape, makes use of the commoner word. A second choice on page iv (p. 169, par. 1) no doubt was intended to be more precise, but it followed an academic rather than a popular standard:

a very peculiar [line] > *Latin verse* upon whose meaning we have often conversed.

Poe's ear caught the repetition of the syllable during the reading of proof, and the solid, popular word was recalled, although the new adjective was kept. On page xv (p. 177, par. 15) a bookish word was the final choice:

He then drew a pistol from his [coat pocket] > *bosom*. . . . .

On page viii (p. 172, par. 1) the desire to avoid excessive repetition may have led to the substitution of a literary phrase for a common word:

the contemplation of [a star] > *the heavenly bodies*.

In the same paragraph the change to a more literary word was accompanied by

<sup>7</sup> This exotic word had already been used on p. iii (p. 167, par. 7).

the substitution of a concrete noun for a pronoun:

to view it in a sidelong way by turning towards it the exterior portions of the retina [is to see it distinctly] . . . > *is to behold the star distinctly*. . . .

"Mustache," on page xv (p. 177, par. 6) grew by means of a *P.C.* into "mustachio."

An unintended hint of bestiality appears on page xiii (p. 175, par. 5), in the first description of the room in which the body of the younger woman was found. The hint was tactfully removed:

On the [sacking of the bedstead] > *hearth* were thick tresses—very thick tresses—of grey human hair.

Poe soon realized when he had left the statement of a situation or an idea uncompleted at the first writing. On page ix (p. 172, par. 8) we find this balancing of a statement:

They have fallen into the gross *but common* error of confounding the unusual with the abstruse.

A *P.C.* drew a completer and more vivid picture than the original on page xii (p. 174, par. 7):

It was clear to me, however, that the shutter belonging to the window at the head of the bed would, if swung fully [open] > *back to the wall*. . . .

A manuscript addition improved the very next sentence, again by completing the picture:

It was also evident that, by exertion of a very unusual degree of activity and courage, an entrance into the window, *from the rod*, might have been thus effected.

On page xiv (p. 177, par. 1) Dupin imagines the owner of the animal saying:

It is not my policy to attract attention either to myself or to the beast.

The interpolation was necessary to complete the statement of the owner's situa-

tion, since he had reason to fear for himself as the one responsible for the animal's escape and for its doings. A *P.C.* clarified this passage on page xv (p. 177, par. 14):

You shall give me all the information in your power about that affair of the *murder* in the Rue Morgue.

On page xv still (p. 177, par. 20) the sailor was properly joined to the party of hunters who caught the ape in a Borneo jungle:

A party of *which he formed one* landed at Borneo. . . .

On page ii (p. 167, par. 5) an interpolation completed a phrase that had been implied: to procure the necessities[, without] of *life*, without troubling himself. . . .

A couple of substitutions exemplify Poe's care to test the validity of his generalizations. The reference in the following sentence, on page viii (p. 171, par. 11), is to Truth.

In fact as regards the [most] > *more* important knowledge I do believe that she is invariably superficial.

On page viii again (pp. 171-172):

The depth lies [oftener] in the valleys where we seek her [than] > *and not* upon the mountains where she is found.

Poe's sensitiveness to the repetitions of syllables and words led to other changes. The replacement on page x (p. 173, par. 4) of a noun by a pronoun interrupted the repetition of a word that had already sounded in five adjoining sentences:

The Dutchman maintains [the voice] > *it* to have been. . . .

A substitute voided a repetition within a sentence and also introduced a more exact image on page ii (p. 167, par. 1):

Thus to have a [good] > *retentive* memory. . . .

A pair of words used for the second time in the succeeding paragraph avoided repe-

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tition through a change in one of the words (p. x; p. 173, par. 5):

the portion respecting the [harsh] > *gruff* and shrill voices. . . .

The reappearance of the verb form of a noun already in a sentence was detected during the reading of proof (*P.C.*, p. 177, par. 1):

I am not sure to what [extent] > *limit* his knowledge may extend.

A simple action word was removed and a purposive phrase substituted for it to void a proximate repetition on page xvi (p. 178, par. 4):

This latter reflection urged the man [to ascend] > *still to follow the fugitive*.

But once Poe produced a rather awkward vowel assonance while sharpening an image on page xii (p. 175, par. 4):

every [day] > *hour* of our lives. . . .

A smoother rhythm resulted from the introduction, as a *P.C.*, of a preposition into this passage on page vii (p. 171, par. 1):

the breaking open of the room door. . . .

Poe seems to have had little trouble with the ordering of his ideas either in the large or within the sentence. There is a transposition of a sequence of nouns on page ii (p. 167, par. 1). "Embarrassment, hesitation, eagerness or trepidation" at the first writing followed the sentence ending "whether the person taking it can make another in the suit." The shift places the summary at the end of an expository passage. Another transposition in the same paragraph reverses the order of an abstract image and a concrete image occurring in two different sentences, placing the concrete image in the climactic position.

He recognises [a card] > *what is* played through feint. . . . A casual or inadvertent

word; the accidental dropping or turning of [anything important] > *a card*. . . .

And the butterfly vacillations inherent in the nature of the adverb caused Poe to make some slight changes in word order. On page i (p. 166, par. 1) the troublesome adverb is "however":

the vulgar dictum (founded, *however*, upon the assumptions of grave authority, [however]) that the calculating and discriminating powers. . . .

On page ii (p. 167, par. 5) the word is "only."

I was deeply interested in the little family history which he detailed to me with all [the] > *that* candor [of a Frenchman in] which a Frenchman [only] indulges *only* when self is his theme.

In the wrong position, the adverb "then" forced a pronoun into the undesired role of a conjunction: *P.C.* (p. 171, par. 5):

They were *both* then [both] lying on the sacking of the bedstead. . . .

On page xi (p. 174, par. 5) the difficult word is "once," although it happens not to be the word that was transposed:

To use a sporting phrase, I had not *been* once [been] 'at fault.'

On page xiv (p. 177, par. 1) the adverb is "at least," although again another word is subjected to rearrangement:

I will render [the animal] at least *the animal* liable to suspicion.

In the proof Poe restored the original order to the sentence, and it so appears in print.

Improved coherence was brought about with an occasional use of an added "for example" or "then."

Criticism of the text resulted also in a large number of examples of the sacrificial rite of deletion. One deletion brought about uniformity of sentence structure in the abridgment of Henri Duval's evidence on page vi (p. 170, par. 4):

Was not acquainted with the Italian language, [and, although he]. Could not distinguish the words. . . .

The heaviest duty of deletions was to strip away sparable words. A deletion removed a redundant adverbial phrase: *P.C.* (p. 172, par. 8):

But it is by these deviations from [the commonplace—by these prominences from] the plane of the ordinary. . . .

It dispensed with an active participle on page ii (p. 167, par. 1):

nor, because the game is the object, does he reject deductions [arising] from things external to the game.

A deletion dropped a redundant adverb: *P.C.* (p. 168, par. 17):

You turned to look [back] at the pile. . . .

It caused the omission of an adjective on page ii (p. 167, par. 3):

The narrative which follows will appear to the [reflective] reader somewhat in the light of a commentary. . . .

And again on page ix (p. 172, par. 8): that [true] reason feels its way. . . .

It expunged a noun on page ii (p. 167, par. 5):

I felt [all] my soul enkindled within me. . . .

It dropped an article on page x (p. 172, par. 10);

Here are pistols; and we both know how to use them when [the] occasion demands their use.

and also on the proof, *P.C.* (p. 173, par. 6):

The impossibility of egress by [the] means already stated. . . .

On page xi (p. 174, par. 1) a passive participle was taken out:

The police were now entirely satisfied that egress had not been [made] in these directions.

A clause was eliminated on page xii (p. 175, par. 3):

My friend went on with his discourse [for it had now assumed all the character of such].

A clause was reduced to a passive participle and phrases on page xii (p. 175, par. 4):

I wish you therefore to discard from your thoughts the blundering idea of motive [which has been] engendered in the brains of the police. . . .

A deletion removed a noun phrase on page xiii (p. 176, par. 5):

I wish you to glance [your eyes] upon the little sketch. . . .

A *P.C.* changed "upon" to "at."

A deletion elided a relative pronoun on page xvii (p. 179, par. 1):

I mean the way [which] he has 'de nier ce qui est, et d'expliquer ce qui n'est pas.'

Deletions also muted undesired assonance. An example occurs on page iv (p. 168, par. 16):

he who attempts it for the first time is [invariably] astonished by the apparently limitless distance. . . .

And another on page xi (p. 174, par. 7):

Upon this point I had been [sufficiently] satisfied in my walk with you around the building.

### III

The changes affecting the formal structure of the story have two main purposes: to strengthen the probability of certain actions and disclosures to follow; and to insure fair play with the reader by removing deceptive guides toward a solution.

A revised choice of the season of the story resulted in a more plausible timing of the tragedy. On page ii (p. 167, par. 4) we read:

Residing in Paris during the [autumn] > spring and part of the [winter] > summer of 18—, I there contracted an intimacy with a Monsieur C. Auguste Dupin.

The summer season to which the tragedy was shifted increased the likelihood of

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both the ourang-outang's attack and also of the necessary details that windows in the lodgings of the sailor and in the house of death should be open in the night to allow the animal means of escaping and entering.

The plausibility of the entrance of someone through the window was strengthened by two changes on page xii (p. 174, par. 7). Poe reconsidered the measurements relating to the distance between the lightning rod and the window with its shutters made partly of trellis work.

About [six > eight] > five feet and a half from the casement in question there ran a lightning-rod. . . . By reaching to the distance of [four] > two feet and a half (we now suppose the shutter open to its whole extent) a robber might have taken a firm grasp upon the trellis-work.<sup>8</sup>

The object of the correction was to put the performance within the abilities of an agile human being, lest the reader balk at the measurements or at once discern that only an animal accustomed to leaping distances at tree heights could have reached the room. In the same paragraph much care is spent on an exposition of the shutters to account for their unusual span toward the lightning rod and for their convenience as an aerial carrier.

A clue preparing for the discovery of the window as the means of escape of the supposed criminal resulted from the following change, appearing on page vii (p. 170, par. 9), in the summary of various testimonies of first arrivals.

The door leading from the front room into the passage was [open—not wide open, but ajar] > locked with the key on the inside.

<sup>8</sup> Earlier in the paragraph the span between the fully opened shutter and the lightning rod was left at four feet and a half; but Poe made the revision in the proof to read "two feet."

Into page vii (p. 171, par. 4) there was interpolated a sentence foreshadowing the enormous strength of the killer:

*The body of Mademoiselle L'Espanaye was so firmly wedged in the chimney that it could not be got down until four or five of the party united their strength.*

Another essential trait of the animal that is to be discovered as the criminal is interpolated into the summary of a supposed textbook description of the ourang-outang on page xiv (p. 176, par. 11):

The gigantic stature, the prodigious strength and activity, the wild ferocity, and the imitative propensities of these mammalia are sufficiently well known to all.

The agility of the animal was as important a characteristic as its strength to account for the tragedy.

An explanation upholding the sailor's eyewitness tale of the killing was interpolated on page xvi (p. 178, par. 3).

*The shutter was kicked open again by the ape<sup>9</sup> as he entered the room.*

This action explains how the sailor was able to look through the same window through which the ape had swung himself on the shutter.

Dupin's inspection of the premises in the Rue Morgue is prepared for in an interpolation on page ix (p. 172, pars. 2-3), in which Dupin declares his purpose to obtain the permission of the *préfet de police* and is reported as having been successful.

On page ix (p. 172, par. 4) there was written in an afterthought following Dupin's examination of the premises:

*On our way home my companion stepped in for a moment at the office of one of the daily papers.*

But for that sentence there would have been no preparation for the advertisement

<sup>9</sup> A P.C. altered "ape" to "Ourang-Outang."

in *Le Monde* that was to induce the owner of the ape to visit Dupin.

Another interpolation helps to prepare for the owner's turning out to be a sailor. It was added on page xiv (p. 176, par. 13). Dupin points to the advertisement of the capture of the ape and says:

If the Frenchman in question be indeed, as I suppose, innocent of [the] > this atrocity, this advertisement, which I left last night upon our return home, at the office of 'Le Monde,' (a paper devoted to the shipping interest, and much sought by sailors). . . .

A sailor was of course a highly probable person to be both the owner of the animal and the observer of the enormity as well.

The credulity of the sailor in answering the advertisement is provided for in an interpolation on page xiv (same paragraph). Dupin suggests that the ourang-outang that had killed the women might have escaped from its owner and been traced by him to the chamber of death. There follows this important addition to the text:

*But under the agitating circumstances which ensued he could never have re-captured it. It is still at large.*

The sailor would therefore believe the advertisement of the animal's capture and would call upon Dupin.

Poe also demonstrated his conscience for fair and truthful dealing with his readers by detecting and removing a number of misleading hints.<sup>10</sup> A change on page v (p. 169, par. 3) withdraws a possible false impression:

. . . two or more rough voices in angry contention were distinguished [proceeding] >, and seemed to proceed from the upper part of the house.

The impression as first given made the voices come from inside the house. Poe

<sup>10</sup> Poe's fairness in not sending the reader upon fools' errands of suspicion has been well appreciated by Arthur Hobson Quinn in his *Edgar Allan Poe: a critical biography* (New York, 1941), p. 312.

struck out the implication and substituted a wording that accorded with the subjective truth of those testifying and with the objective truth as it was to be revealed at the end. The sailor had not entered the house but had been holding on to the lightning rod when he was heard speaking to the ape.

A change on page xii (p. 175, par. 2) deals with the puzzling voice:

. . . that very peculiar shrill (or harsh) and unequal voice, about whose [language] > nationality no two persons could be found to agree. . . .

The former version tended to imply that the voice, being capable of language, was that of a human being; the second reading lightens emphasis on the human source and turns the attention to the impersonal, geographical mystery of the creature. Since the voice is later disclosed as that of an ape, the assumption of its capability for articulate language could have been objected to as untruthful.<sup>11</sup> There is a similar retraction on page xi (p. 173, par. 6):

It is clear that the assassins were in the room where [the crime was committed] > *Mademoiselle L'Espanaye was found*. . . .

Dupin's false hypothesis assuming human killers occupies an unemphatic position in the clause, but the change occurs in a position of more assured emphasis and abruptly checks the force of "assassins." It represents a radical deviation from the assumption that a *crime* had been committed, of necessity by human beings, to the neutral viewpoint that a body had

<sup>11</sup> Within the very sentence Dupin reminds the author that in the "utterance" of the voice "no syllabification could be detected." The word "utterance" conveys a nice neutrality of innuendo. Poe seems to have been in doubt even as to the fairness of using the word "voice" to designate the cries of the ape. He revealed his dilemma in the interpolated summary of Alberto Montani's testimony (p. vii; p. 171, par. 3) by unconsciously omitting any word for the idea. Later he interpolated the chosen word into the sentence: "Could not make out the words of the shrill voice."

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been found.<sup>12</sup> On page ix (p. 172, par. 8) a more extended revision appears at first sight to have been made only for clarity's sake, but once more closer fidelity to truth resulted from the change.

[Just in proportion as this matter has appeared insoluble to the police, has been that facility with which I have arrived at its solution] > *In fact, the facility with which I shall arrive, or have arrived, at the solution of this mystery, is in exact ratio with its apparent insolvability in the eyes of the police.*

Dupin could not truthfully claim credit for having solved the killings before he had received confirmation from the sailor-witness.

An important addition to the text, motivated by a complexity of reasons, was, I believe, the starting-point of a series of changes affecting the testimony concerning the shrill voice. Before writing Dupin's analysis of the whole body of evidence, Poe obviously re-read that evidence with critical attention. When he studied the testimony of Henri Duval on page vi (p. 170, par. 4), he became aware of a number of serious faults in it. The summary read:

Was acquainted with the Italian language, and, although he could not distinguish the words, was convinced by the intonation that the speaker was an Italian.

To give weight to Duval's evidence he had, in the first writing, credited Duval with some knowledge of Italian. This authority gave such moment to Duval's opinion as to throw it out of balance with all the remaining testimonies on the point and to suggest the false clue that one of the murderers was an Italian. That over-emphasis was bad aesthetically and morally: it ruined a delicate balancing of evidential values and misled the reader.

<sup>12</sup> The reader will remember the warning clause on p. 171 (par. 7): "A murder so mysterious . . . if indeed a murder has been committed at all."

Again, the statement was of doubtful probability. If Duval had known Italian, he would hardly have attributed the sounds made by an ape to an Italian voice. Also, the statement of Duval's knowledge of Italian contradicted the implicit assumption, loosely inferred from the admitted ignorance of Muset and Garcio of the languages they had heard, that the witnesses did not understand the languages they had identified. And, last, the reason for persons of various nationalities identifying languages unknown to them must be presented explicitly if it was to impress and convince the reader. The device that was resolved upon as the best for proving causation was the inductive pattern which J. S. Mill was to present two years later as the method of agreement. This method, if rigorously carried out, would prove cause by showing that ignorance of the language designated was the single factor common to every instance of divergent identification. To institute preparations for an explicit and thorough rationale of causation, Poe inserted a single word, which also nullified a false clue, and restored Duval's testimony to a parity of influence. The change made the sentence read:

Was *not* acquainted with the Italian language.

After that interpolation a series of similar negations was methodically introduced into subsequent testimony on the nationality of the voice, building up not only a convincing explanation but also a very entertaining ironic comedy. Into the testimony of the Dutchman Odenheimer, who was certain the shrill voice was that of a Frenchman, there was interpolated the sentence, on page vii (p. 170, par. 5):

*Not speaking French was examined through an interpreter.*

And to the testimony of William Bird, an Englishman who thought the voice that of

a German, was added the comment, on page vii (p. 170, par. 8):

*Does not understand German.*

The whole testimony of the Italian, Alberto Montani, was invented later and inserted in a margin of the manuscript, and in it too was incorporated a negation, the compliment this time being rendered to the Russian tongue.

But Poe showed his tact for form in not drawing the design too perfectly. The testimony of the gendarme, Isidore Musèt, preceding that of Duval, had ventured Spanish as the language of the shrill-voiced suspect, and its awkwardly phrased confession of an ignorance of Spanish remained as far as the proof sheets. But in a last critical inspection of his new design of an explicitly explained confusion, Poe realized that Musèt's testimony contained a flaw that must be removed. It was the sentence on page vi (*P.C.*, omitted from p. 170, par. 3):

[Might have distinguished some words if he had been acquainted with the Spanish.]

This statement was too improbable to have come from a gendarme, who was trained and experienced in testifying to facts, not hypotheses. It was so valueless as evidence that it would have been retained in no police or private dossier of relevant fact. If taken seriously, it might even be interpreted as a hint that a Spaniard was actually one of the killers. And, last, with an explicit and scientific rationale supplanting the originally implied assumption, the whole design would be improved if it were given to the reader less abruptly and if it were kept from being too rigid, too perfect. A simple deletion was the remedy. And so the testimony of Musèt became silent upon his deficiency as a linguist.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The deletion was forgotten during the reading of the later portions of the proof. That is how Dupin comes to quote the deleted sentence when he argues

An important division of scenes was effected by a change in a time of day occurring on page ix (p. 172, par. 5). Dupin is the person referred to:

It was his humor now to decline all conversation on the subject of the murder until after we had taken a bottle of wine together about [midnight] > noon the next day.

The association of convivial drinking and brainy talk with midnight flowed easily from the pen; but the original time would have separated Dupin's speculative solution from the corroborative visit of the sailor by the interval of a night. The change produced a narrative economy of two closely joined scenes developing a maximum of cumulative effect and prevented the sailor's story from turning out to be a suspensively introduced anticlimax.

Two interpolations represent the supplying of omissions that may have been caused by an unconscious fear of marring the construction of the mystery story by giving away the secret of the killer's identity. On page x (p. 173, par. 2) Dupin deduces from the testimony of persons at the scene of the carnage that the voices heard had not been those of either of the women killed. The text goes on:

This relieves us of all doubt upon the question whether the old *lady* could have first destroyed the daughter, and afterwards have committed suicide.

The word for even a hypothetical murderer dropped out and had to be written in. On page xiii (p. 175, par. 5) there appears another repression of a word directly associated with the image of the killer. There are eight allusions in the same paragraph to the agent of the killing. Seven of those are worded to interpose an abstract, inanimate screen between the image of the

that ignorance of the language identified was the single factor common to every one of the conflicting identifications (see p. 173, par. 4).

killer and the reader's mind: "strangled to death by manual strength"; "the degree of that strength"; "the employment of a vigor"; "the great force necessary"; and so on. But the first writing of the most gruesome of these allusions omitted the key word associated with the animal, despite the abstractness of the word. Dupin is describing the carnage in the room, the thick tresses of hair torn out:

Their roots (a hideous sight!) were clotted with fragments of the flesh of the scalp—sure token of the prodigious power which had been exerted in uprooting perhaps a million of hairs at a time.

The intensity with which the ape's actions were visualized would be accompanied by the impulse to give the secret away. This could produce an unconscious fear of the telling and, in turn, an immediate unconscious repression of whatever verbal equivalent of the secret was about to be uttered.

#### IV

The mutations of the text following its printing in *Graham's magazine* are not important in body, although they further illumine Poe's unrelaxing struggle toward the flawless ideal. One of the worthiest of the later modifications was the wide abandonment of that toxic punctuational disease, the dash.

This paper has consumed such length

to make known the range of Poe's self-critical art in one manuscript. Of course, only a comparison of more manuscripts can lead to broad and permanent generalization upon Poe as a critic of his own writing in its creative stages. But this manuscript throws a clear-enough light to help us recognize these qualities in particular: his conscience in testing and reinforcing the factual threads that he wove upon a strong warp of probability into a pattern of absorbing verisimilitude; his regard for truth in dealing fairly with his readers in a tale whose prime allure is mystification; his care in laboring, where it mattered, for exact and vivid words and images; and his attention to correctness, originality, and economy of expression. It has also laid open some very elementary writing faults with which his craft was encumbered in its first trials.

But the faults divulged by the holograph must not be remembered at the cost of an appreciation of its triumphs. For this manuscript proves that Poe could make of that most difficult of all discoveries, the discovery of one's own imperfections, a rite carried out nearly to perfection in itself. It shows us in detail how Poe's painstaking critical genius, transforming every keenly sensed flaw into a spur, drove his creative art to its greatest effects.

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## YEATS AND CRAZY JANE: THE HERO IN OLD AGE

WALTER E. HOUGHTON

### I. ILLNESS

WRITING in 1906, Yeats spoke of two ways before literature—upward into ever growing subtlety until poetry was written for only a small and learned audience or downward until all was "simplified and solidified again." "That is the choice of choices—the way of the bird until common eyes have lost us, or to the market carts."<sup>1</sup> By and large, Yeats had gone the first road, both in substance and in style. After the poetry addressed to Maud Gonne and his friends at Coole Park and the satire of Dublin Philistines, the range and density increased, until such complex poems as "The second coming" and "Nineteen hundred and nineteen" not only expressed a whole vision of modern society plunging toward anarchy but "placed" that vision in a larger perspective of historical cycles. At the same time, this terrifying picture of "the growing murderousness of the world" forced him again, though not so completely as in the eighties and nineties, to escape inward to a happier world of the imagination:

I need some mind that, if the cannon sound  
From every quarter of the world, can stay  
Wound in mind's pondering  
As mummies in the mummy-cloth are wound.<sup>2</sup>

By 1916 this necessity led him upward in the further sense of mystical elevation, renewed the early desire for trance, and brought the deeper study of occult literature that resulted in *Per amica silentia lunae* (1917) and the philosophical poetry

<sup>1</sup> "Discoveries" (1906), *Essays by W. B. Yeats* (1924), p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> "All Souls' Night" (1920), *The collected poems of W. B. Yeats* (1934), p. 263 (hereafter cited as *Poems*).

of Michael Robartes and Owen Aherne. When *A vision* appeared in 1925, he seemed lost again "upon *Hodos Chameiontos*";<sup>3</sup> and two years later he was rejecting the sensual music of "whatever is begotten, born, and dies" for the music of the soul, singing the "monuments of unaging intellect," and was longing to sail from Ireland to the holy city of Byzantium, out of nature into the artifice of eternity.<sup>4</sup> In the meanwhile, as his thought had grown more subtle and esoteric, his medium had become increasingly packed and allusive, the symbols often drawn from occult sources; and the complex orchestration of the ode supplanted the lyric as the principal form. In 1928, the year of *The tower* and Yeats's sixty-third year, it seemed impossible that he would ever go downward to the market carts. And then suddenly, with his amazing flexibility, he wheeled away from the intellectual and exotic to the simple and elemental, from the mystical to the sensual, from the lords and ladies of Byzantium to Crazy Jane and Jack the Journeyman, and wrote, as I think, his finest single work, *Words for music perhaps* (1932).<sup>5</sup>

The new departure was not a reversal of direction but a radical shift in emphasis.

<sup>3</sup> *The autobiography of William Butler Yeats* (1938 ed.), p. 319.

<sup>4</sup> *Poems*, pp. 223-24.

<sup>5</sup> The only criticism I know is "Crazy Jane," by Louis MacNeice, in *The poetry of W. B. Yeats* (1941), chap. viii; and the review by Theodore Spencer in *Hound and horn*, VII (1933), 164-74. MacNeice fails to recognize the fundamental pattern of heroic tragedy or the close relation of the volume to Yeats's early criticism; but his remarks on lyric form and its connection with Blake are excellent. Spencer does not attempt much more than an analysis of Yeats's use of refrain. My chief obligation is to my friend C. L. Barber for his stimulating suggestions made in conversation.

sis. Yeats never abandoned his metaphysic; it appears even in the *Crazy Jane* poems. On the other hand, a strain of natural passion cuts through the previous visionary mood. As Cleanth Brooks has pointed out, "Sailing to Byzantium" is a poem of conflict: the desire to pass out of nature is unfulfilled, the sensual music still beats in the veins.<sup>6</sup> And the same tension is often present in *The Tower*. Indeed, the preface to *A Vision* had prophesied that a new poetry, simple and passionate, would take the place of "philosophy":

I am longing to put it [*A Vision*] out of reach  
that I may write the poetry it seems to have  
made possible. I can now, if I have the energy,  
find the simplicity I have sought in vain. . . .

I would forget the wisdom of the East and  
remember its grossness and its romance.<sup>7</sup>

Yet the poetry that immediately followed, with the exception of "A woman young and old," was neither simple nor gross; and the wisdom of the East remained dominant. When the proof sheets of *A Vision* were corrected, Yeats plunged even more deeply into metaphysics, read Berkeley and all of Plotinus, went from Plotinus "to his predecessors and successors." And he might have gone on in this direction, as he says, "but for something that happened at Cannes."<sup>8</sup> This was an attack of pneumonia, followed by a nervous breakdown and a long illness in which he nearly died. His own account is crucial for understanding the new poetry which was born of this physical and psychological crisis:

"A Dialogue of Self and Soul" was written in the spring of 1928 during a long illness, indeed finished the day before a Cannes doctor told me to stop writing. Then in the spring of 1929 life returned as an impression of the uncontrollable energy and daring of the great creators; it seemed that but for journalism and criticism, all that evasion and explanation, the

world would be torn in pieces. I wrote "Mad as the Mist and Snow," a mechanical little song, and after that almost all that group of poems called in memory of those exultant weeks "Words for Music Perhaps." . . . Since then I have added a few poems to "Words for Music Perhaps," but always keeping the mood and plan of the first poems.<sup>9</sup>

In the implied relationship between the illness, the "Dialogue," and the group of lyrics, the second term provides an invaluable clue to the effect of the first and the interpretation of the third. For the "Dialogue" is the autobiographical record of the same experience which a year later, in the greater detachment of convalescence, Yeats projected into the dramatic characters of *Crazy Jane* and *Tom the Lunatic*.

In Part I of the "Dialogue" the Soul reiterates the escapist appeal of *A Vision*. "Fix every wandering thought," it tells the Self, "upon that quarter where all thought is done" and continues with the promise that, if imagination scorn the earth, ancestral night can "deliver from the crime of death and birth." In answer the Self holds up Sato's blade, "emblematical of love and war," and claims "as by a soldier's right a charter to commit the crime once more." In Part II the pretense of impersonal debate is dropped, as Yeats speaks out himself. The sickening review of his life as one of clumsiness and calumny, failure and frustration, is countered by triumphant acceptance and self-assertion:

*My Self.* I am content to follow to its source,  
Every event in action or in thought;  
Measure the lot; forgive myself the  
lot!  
When such as I cast out remorse  
So great a sweetness flows into the  
breast  
We must laugh and we must sing,  
We are blest by everything,  
Everything we look upon is blest.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Modern Poetry and the Tradition* (1939), p. 192.

<sup>7</sup> *A Vision* (London, 1925), pp. xli, xlii.

<sup>8</sup> *A Vision* (2d ed.; New York, 1938), p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> *Poems*, p. 455.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 272-73.

In the crisis of his illness Yeats discovered what alone could sustain him—not escape from the body but return to the body, to the personality as a whole; not Platonic ecstasy but what he called "heroic ecstasy." And this discovery is the basic theme of *Words for music perhaps*. He was thinking of himself when he wrote to Dorothy Wellesley, after a similar illness of hers in 1938: "It brings the soul back to itself: we sink down into our own soil and take root again."<sup>11</sup>

This is true in a further sense, for the roots of *Words for music perhaps*, in form as well as in thought, lie far in the past. Twenty years earlier Yeats had formulated his conception of the hero and heroic tragedy.<sup>12</sup> After a first embodiment in the Pre-Raphaelite plays on legendary kings and queens, the whole program was abandoned, as Yeats moved upward to his intellectual and philosophical poetry. Then, when his illness turned his mind back to the past and called up the heroic attitude, he rededicated his art to the early ideal, but in a new and more profound form. He stripped it of romantic distortions, gave it deeper contact with the common lot of men—and so at last sang "the heroic song I have longed for."<sup>13</sup> Only by returning through the "Dialogue" to the critical definition of the hero and heroic poetry can we recognize, not merely the crucial place of *Words for music perhaps* in Yeats's whole development, but its full meaning and intrinsic weight.

## II. THE CONCEPT OF THE HERO

Almost every influence of his early life drew Yeats to the heroic idea. The conscious sense of a family tradition of sol-

<sup>11</sup> *Letters on poetry from W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley* (1940), p. 169.

<sup>12</sup> In the essays on Blake (1897) in *The Irish dramatic movement* (1907) and those called "Discoveries" (1906), "Poetry and tradition" (1907), and "The tragic theatre" (1910).

<sup>13</sup> *Letters on poetry*, p. 82.

ders and sailors, "swift indifferent men";<sup>14</sup> the aristocratic tradition of "the proud, the heroic mind," which he found still existing in Ireland, "where a woman was remembered for her beauty, a man admired for his authority, his physical strength, his birth or his wildness";<sup>15</sup> and the third tradition, Irish legend, first revived in the eighties when "Standish O'Grady, his mind full of Homer, retold the story of Cuchulain that he might bring back an heroic ideal."<sup>16</sup> These influences from the past were deepened by Yeats's reaction to the Victorian present. We may discount his early scheme for a "Castle of Heroes," built on an island in Loch Gill, as the escapist tendency from which he presently recovered.<sup>17</sup> But the conscious need for religious faith and a tougher character was permanent. When Huxley and Darwin robbed him of Christian belief and he made a new religion out of myth and legend, its central dogma was the truth of whatever "those imaginary people" had spoken: the revelation of Odysseus was the revelation of heaven.<sup>18</sup> This identification of god and the hero was reaffirmed just after the publication of the *Crazy Jane* poems, in *The resurrection*, where the Greek says of the gods: "The man who lives heroically gives them the only earthly body that they covet. He, as it were, copies their gestures and their acts."<sup>19</sup> This is Yeats's doctrine of discipline by conscious imitation. Early in life the Mask he set up, at the opposite pole

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Autobiography*, pp. 7-23; *Poems*, p. 115; and *The Oxford book of modern verse*, p. xv.

<sup>15</sup> *Letters on poetry*, p. 196; Day-Lewis, "A note on W. B. Yeats and the aristocratic tradition," *Scattering branches: tributes to the memory of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Stephen Gwynn (1940), p. 166.

<sup>16</sup> Preface to *Fighting the waves* (1929), in *Wheels and butterflies* (1934), p. 70.

<sup>17</sup> Maud Gonne, "Yeats and Ireland," *Scattering branches*, p. 23.

<sup>18</sup> *Autobiography*, pp. 101-2, 80.

<sup>19</sup> In *Wheels and butterflies*, p. 121; and cf. *Autobiography*, p. 427.

from the gentle and dreamy Willie, was the heroic image as seen in Hamlet:

I wished to become self-possessed, to be able to play with hostile minds as Hamlet played, to look in the lion's face, as it were, with unquivering eyelash. . . . Discovering that I was only self-possessed with people I knew intimately, I would often go to a strange house where I knew I would spend a wretched hour for schooling sake. I did not discover that Hamlet had his self-possession from no schooling but from indifference and passion-conquering sweetness, and that less heroic minds can but hope it from old age.<sup>20</sup>

This was a prophecy at once true of Crazy Jane and of Yeats himself. In the last analysis, however, it was "the romantic movement with its turbulent heroism, its self-assertion," that provoked the worship of dynamic personality<sup>21</sup> and led him to define "an exciting person, whether the hero of a play or the maker of poems," as one who "will display the greatest volume of personal energy."<sup>22</sup>

If energy is good in itself, if the highest praise is to say of a man "What a nature," "How much abundant life,"<sup>23</sup> the hero must enjoy a special code of morals, an inner sense of "purity," and a gigantic pride. In the essays on Blake (1897) Yeats often cites the assertion of impulse against the repressive code of rational morality:

Passions, because most living, are most holy . . . and man shall enter eternity borne upon their wings.

Those who are cast out are all those who, having no passions of their own, because no

intellect, have spent their lives in curbing and governing other people's lives by the various arts of poverty and cruelty of all kinds. The modern Church crucifies Christ with the head downwards.<sup>24</sup>

These were the weapons that Yeats sharpened for his defense of amoral art against bigoted Catholics and Dublin Philistines. And, in doing so, he drew for support on the heroes of Shakespeare. Their violation of the Ten Commandments he found justified by the higher court of our instinctive sympathy:

This character who delights us may commit murder like Macbeth, or fly the battle for his sweetheart as did Antony, or betray his country like Coriolanus, and yet we will rejoice in every happiness that comes to him and sorrow at his death as if it were our own. It is no use telling us that the murderer and the betrayer do not deserve our sympathy. . . . We are caught up into another code, we are in the presence of a higher court.<sup>25</sup>

And yet, he added, "there is some law, some code, some judgment." Antony must not rail at Cleopatra or Coriolanus abate "that high pride of his in the presence of death." It is the positive virtues of courage, love, physical strength, decisive action, and, above all, abounding energy that win our sympathy and form the higher law of heroic morality.

It follows that the hero is freed from every form of hesitation, both moral and physical. Acting from impulse that is good, he feels, as Yeats says, an "instinctive harmony," a sense of joyous confidence and inner purity.<sup>26</sup> Cuchulain "seemed to me a heroic figure because he was creative joy separated from fear."<sup>27</sup> The statues of Mausolus and Artemisia became "images of an unpremeditated

<sup>20</sup> *Autobiography*, p. 83; cf. p. 74, and esp. pp. 43-44: "For many years Hamlet was an image of heroic self-possession for the poses of youth and childhood to copy, a combatant of the battle within myself."

<sup>21</sup> From "Bishop Berkeley" (1931), *Essays by W. B. Yeats, 1931-1936* (1937), pp. 39-40.

<sup>22</sup> "Discoveries," *Essays* (1924), p. 329.

<sup>23</sup> *The Irish dramatic movement* (1907), as reprinted in *Plays and controversies* (1924), p. 113. Hereafter this volume is referred to as *Controversies*, and all quotations date between 1901 and 1907.

<sup>24</sup> *Essays*, pp. 138, 169-70.

<sup>25</sup> *Controversies*, pp. 103-4.

<sup>26</sup> Preface to *Words upon the window-pane* (1931), as reprinted in *Wheels and butterflies*, p. 30.

<sup>27</sup> *Letters on poetry*, p. 202.

joyous energy, that neither I nor any other man, racked by doubt and inquiry, can achieve."<sup>28</sup> Nor is the hero troubled by regret or remorse: Kevin O'Higgins was

A soul incapable of remorse or rest;  
A revolutionary soldier kneeling to be blessed.<sup>29</sup>

It was with O'Higgins' assassination in mind that Yeats wrote, in the lyric called "Death":

A great man in his pride  
Confronting murderous men  
Casts derision upon  
Supersession of breath.<sup>30</sup>

We remember the "high pride" of Coriolanus in the presence of death. It is, of course, at the moment of tragedy that the hero reaches his full stature, since "only the greatest obstacle that can be contemplated without despair, rouses the will to full intensity." He must at once accept his destiny, not only without rage or fear but with all the strength of heroic fortitude. It is the paradox of self-surrender and self-assertion.<sup>31</sup>

As I implied in the description of the Mask, this whole conception was a discipline Yeats set himself as a man. Timid and fearful, painfully self-conscious and critical, beset by his Protestant ancestry with a Puritan conscience,<sup>32</sup> he tried for repose, for self-possession, through the deliberate assumption of the heroic image. A passage from "Anima hominis" (1917) illuminates for a moment the psychological pattern. He speaks of coming home from public meetings full of "gloom and disappointment," having

<sup>28</sup> *Autobiography*, p. 131.

<sup>29</sup> "The municipal gallery revisited," *Last poems* (1940), p. 48.

<sup>30</sup> *Poems*, p. 270; cf. p. 288.

<sup>31</sup> *Autobiography*, p. 170, for the quotation and cf. *Essays*, p. 316, quoted below, p. 327.

<sup>32</sup> See, in particular, *Autobiography*, pp. 60, 173, 285, 312, 428.

overstated everything from a desire to vex or startle, from hostility that is but fear. . . . But when I shut my door and light the candle, . . . I begin to dream of eyelids that do not quiver before the bayonet: all my thoughts have ease and joy, I am all virtue and confidence.<sup>33</sup>

Part II of the "Dialogue of self and soul" develops on the same basic pattern, but in a deeper groove; for then it was no question of social clumsiness capable of dispersion by aesthetic reverie but a tragic crisis to be sustained only by full realization of the heroic attitude. In the final stanza the acceptance of life as tragedy, the self-absolution and purification followed by exultant joy, culminate in the sense of sanctity, also ascribed to O'Higgins but extended, by a natural transference, to the whole universe. A year later he achieved again the same high mood and so projected his own tragic heroism into *Crazy Jane* and *Tom the Lunatic*.

### III. FORM

When the heroic theme was reborn in Yeats's old age, its image and its medium were new. Both innovations had the same source—a fresh sympathy with the common man. In the early period the hero still meant for Yeats the hero of Aristotelian tradition, not peasant but warrior-king. He was more concerned, he admitted in 1905, "with the heroic legend than with the folk";<sup>34</sup> and it is significant that he divided Irish drama into two kinds—"plays of peasant life and plays of a romantic and heroic life," that is to say, those of Synge, with their "ugly, deformed or sinful people," and those of Yeats, in which the "masterful spirits" are kings and queens.<sup>35</sup> Outside of legend, his heroes were his own aristocratic circle in idealized form—Lady Gregory and her

<sup>33</sup> *Essays*, pp. 485-86.

<sup>34</sup> *Controversies*, p. 140.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155; *Essays*, p. 376; *Controversies*, p. 123.

son ("Maud" Synge energy But, v him a came of tha lacked Yeats were n sense o this th conva nounce need n new h woman Und earlier transm first rej logical comm natural time he poetry personal ence."<sup>36</sup> ever, th called a his pra 1936: tragic, Am I n And, w Yeats r ballads, now co back to is to sa lectual <sup>36</sup> Poem p. 390. <sup>37</sup> Auto <sup>38</sup> Ibid. <sup>39</sup> Lette

son ("our Sidney and our perfect man"), Maud Gonne in the role of Helen of Troy, Synge himself, "a sick man picturing energy, a doomed man picturing gaiety."<sup>36</sup> But, when the suffering of 1928 brought him acutely back to elemental life, he came to feel, however vicariously, much of that sympathy with the folk he had lacked before. Or, to put it differently, Yeats the poet and Yeats the aristocrat were submerged beneath the powerful sense of Yeats the man. And if we add to this the uprush of physical strength in convalescence, stimulating the pronounced sexual vitality of his old age, we need not look further to account for the new heroic image—a crack-pated old woman and a lunatic beggar.

Under pressure of the same forces, earlier theories of verse were similarly transmuted into a new medium. When he first rejected the temporal and the psychological for a poetry of "simple emotions" common to all men in all ages,<sup>37</sup> Yeats naturally thought of the ballad, and for a time he had even denied merit to all Irish poetry but a few ballads "written out of a personal and generally tragic experience."<sup>38</sup> In the *Crazy Jane* poems, however, the ballad has become what Yeats called a broadside. Taking her cue from his practice, Dorothy Wellesley wrote in 1936: "Broadsides should be vigorous, tragic, bawdy, wild, any of those things. Am I right? But not contemplative."<sup>39</sup> And, with the same contrast in mind, Yeats remarked in 1937: "I have several ballads, poignant things. . . . They have now come to an end I think, and I must go back to the poems of civilization"<sup>40</sup>—that is to say, to the sophisticated and intellectual poetry at the opposite pole from

the downward road to the market carts, where all is "simplified and solidified." In 1935 and 1937 the Cuala Press published a monthly *Broadside*, containing two ballads (Yeats himself first published in this way many of the poems later published as *Last poems*). A distinctive feature was the accompanying music, often arranged from an old folk tune by Arthur Duff. The early ideal of verse set to musical notation, like the rest of his early theory, returned with fresh conviction when Yeats sank down to his roots again. The Wellesley letters are filled with its importance and its close association with the elemental and the permanent:

"Music, the natural words in the natural order.' Through that formula we go back to the people. Music will keep out temporary ideas, for music is the nation's clothing of what is ancient & deathless.

His last projective thought seems to me to have been this wish for 'words for melody.' Melody, not music conventionally spoken of: folk, ballad, &c.<sup>41</sup>

All these poems are words for music perhaps, but they are not all broadside-ballads. Though not worked out rigidly, the "plan" Yeats had in mind was an antiphonal pattern in which the dramatic lyrics of Jane and Tom were to be played off against the more traditional lyrics of the poet speaking in his own voice. This, too, is the development of an old idea, for in 1901 Yeats had set up, in opposition to the bad poetry of the middle class, a "good poetry" which embraced both these categories:

There is only one kind of good poetry, for the poetry of the coteries, which presupposes the written tradition, does not differ in kind from the true poetry of the people, which presupposes the unwritten tradition.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Poems*, pp. 124, 150–54, 102–6; *Autobiography*, p. 390.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 213, and cf. also p. 192.

<sup>37</sup> *Autobiography*, p. 132.

<sup>42</sup> "What is popular poetry" (1901), *Essays*, pp.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176, and cf. p. 132.

<sup>43</sup> 9–10.

<sup>39</sup> *Letters on poetry*, p. 100.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

With a subtle modulation the theme of sleep in "Three things," with its imagery of bones and its earthy idiom, is rehandled in the next poem through images of Paris and Helen, Tristram and Leda; and the rhythm lifted from the unevenness of speech to sensuous grace. Jane's anxiety, expressed dramatically in poem iv, is recast in poem x into general statement and lyrical form. The "madness" of genius (poem xviii) is the counterpart, in contrasting mode, of the lunacy of Jane and Tom; and Jane herself exemplifies the supreme theme of art and song (poem xvii):

Bodily decrepitude is wisdom; young  
We loved each other and were ignorant.

The effect is that "balance or reconciliation of . . . the general with the concrete, the idea with the image, the individual with the representative" which Coleridge ascribed to the imagination at its highest level.<sup>43</sup>

The application of Coleridge's remark to a whole group of poems is not loosely made. *Words for music perhaps*, written out of a single, if complex, experience, is itself a work of art; it has, as Yeats said, a unity of "mood and plan." Taken individually, these poems cannot be measured against "The second coming," "Among school children," and half-a-dozen more; and they can be matched, in substance and form, by a number of the lyrics in *Last poems*. But, read in close association, they build up into an organic unity which makes them as a whole Yeats's finest achievement. For the vision of life, to which his technical power has given firm and integrated form, is broad and profound.

#### IV. MEANING

Crazy Jane and Tom the Lunatic stand in violent opposition to every form of

asceticism—intellectual, mystical, or moral; to every dichotomy of the unified being, whether body and soul or thought and feeling. Their "insanity" is the wisdom of the natural man. This ideal is embodied in the larger image of the hero brought face to face with his tragic destiny. As in the "Dialogue," we have, on the one hand, the same recognition of suffering seen from the perspective of old age: the inhumanity of man to man, the brevity of love and its essential loneliness—even the choice of a lover "not kindred" to the soul; the corruption of the ideal in the "frog-spawn of a blind man's ditch." And, on the other side, we have the triumphant assertion of the same heroic will, claiming the validity of love against moral repression, accepting, with quiet or defiant courage, the destruction of "what life cannot rebuild."<sup>44</sup>

In the opening poem Crazy Jane faces the Bishop. When Yeats spoke in 1904 of the opposition of heroic passion "with the law that is the expression of the whole, whether of Church or Nation," he thought of pulpit and press as the "enemies of life"; and every bishop as the Bishop of Connaught who "told his people a while since that they 'should never read stories about the degrading passion of love.'"<sup>45</sup> That is the "source" of the poem and part of its meaning; but a deeper insight, gained in the intervening years, has given the original opposition a closer fidelity to life. The Bishop is not the symbol of law but of the letter of the law, the letter that killeth. He is not misguided, like his predecessor at Connaught, but cruel, and cruel because, as Yeats realized, without charity "our moral sense can be but cruelty."<sup>46</sup> The poem is therefore not, or not merely, an attack on clericalism but on man's in-

<sup>43</sup> *Biographia literaria*, ed. J. Shawcross (1907), II, 12.

<sup>44</sup> *Autobiography*, p. 235.

<sup>45</sup> *Controversies*, pp. 105, 60, 53.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

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humanity to man. This is skilfully pointed when Jane picks up the Bishop's charge that the lovers "lived like beast and beast" and turns *him* into a beast—wrinkled skin "like the foot of a goose" and a "heron's hunch upon his back," beneath the hypocritical robes of the priest. Jane herself is the tragic hero, defeated by the Bishop, "when his ban banished Jack the Journeyman," and by the conditions of life (Jack is dead)—but proud, defiant, without remorse. And the refrains, as often through these poems, are a kind of tragic chorus, offering consolation in "*All find safety in the tomb*" and ironic sympathy in "*The solid man and the coxcomb*."

In their second meeting (poem vi) the Bishop asserts the dichotomy of soul and body: the spirit is good, the flesh evil; the virtuous life is ascetic, in a heavenly mansion, evil life is natural life, in a bodily mansion. It is the voice of Blake's enemies, and his reply is Yeats's and Jane's, "But that which is Sin in the sight of cruel man is not sin in the sight of our kind God".<sup>47</sup>

'Fair and foul are near of kin,  
And fair needs foul,' I cried.  
'My friends are gone, but that's a truth  
Nor grave nor bed denied,  
Learned in bodily lowliness  
And in the heart's pride.

'A woman can be proud and stiff  
When on love intent;  
But Love has pitched his mansion in  
The place of excrement;  
For nothing can be sole or whole  
That has not been rent.'

Fair needs foul ("What you call foul"), soul and body are two halves of a single whole, a truth "learned in bodily lowliness." This last image, which is to be read literally, is then extended in the closing lines into one of Yeats's boldest figures, for the reference is neither to suffering nor

to the "necessity of desecration," as MacNeice would have it, but to the physical union through which alone love is made "sole or whole."<sup>48</sup>

The same conviction is given a different setting in poem iii, which is also related to the first encounter with the Bishop. The title, "Crazy Jane on the Day of Judgment," is purposely ambiguous. It is *this* day when Jane sits in self-judgment. The Bishop is wrong—and yet, what is true love? Doesn't the soul need the body? All will be known when time is gone, on the Judgment Day.

'Love is all  
Unsatisfied  
That cannot take the whole  
Body and soul';  
*And that is what Jane said.*

'Take the sour  
If you take me,  
I can scoff and lour  
And scold for an hour.'  
*'That's certainly the case,' said she.*

'Naked I lay,  
The grass my bed;  
Naked and hidden away,  
That black day';  
*And that is what Jane said.*

'What can be shown?  
What true love be?  
All could be known or shown  
If Time were but gone.'  
*'That's certainly the case,' said he.*

As with most of these poems, the apparent simplicity is deceptive, for natural love in its fulness is only part of the meaning. There is the important contrast, here and elsewhere, between Jane and Jack. Her character, fierce and defiant by moments (even her love is "like the lion's tooth"), is also sensitive, perceptive, capable of devotion. Jack is simply Jack the Jour-

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Last poems*, pp. 8–10, 11, 12; and here, poem iii, discussed just below. MacNeice's remark is in *The poetry of Yeats*, p. 161.

neyman, ready enough to desert one woman for another, since for him body alone is the meaning of love. Hence the juxtaposition of the hero and the common man. One must be aware of Jack's tone of voice—rapid, a bit shrill, offhand and casual (he is bored with the whole discussion). Jane speaks slowly, seriously, the pitch low. One must read the last line in key with stanza two, and with a marked difference of tone from Jane's previous use of the same words. Not to do so is to miss the underlying pathos.

The contrast of Jane and Jack reappears, in clearer outline and deeper implication, in "I am of Ireland."<sup>49</sup> This poem is undoubtedly the finest of the group—to Horace Gregory the finest lyric in contemporary literature;<sup>50</sup> but this is not evident without close analysis, for a powerful rhythm tends to conceal the full and elusive meaning:

*'I AM of Ireland,  
And the Holy Land of Ireland,  
And time runs on,' cried she.  
'Come out of charity,  
Come dance with me in Ireland.'*

One man, one man alone  
In that outlandish gear,  
One solitary man  
Of all that rambled there  
Had turned his stately head.  
'That is a long way off,  
And time runs on,' he said,  
'And the night grows rough.'

*'I am of Ireland,  
And the Holy Land of Ireland,  
And time runs on,' cried she.  
'Come out of charity  
And dance with me in Ireland.'*

'The fiddlers are all thumbs,  
Or the fiddle-string accursed,  
The drums and the kettledrums  
And the trumpets all are burst,

And the trombone,' cried he,  
'The trumpet and trombone,'  
And cocked a malicious eye,  
'But time runs on, runs on.'

*'I am of Ireland,  
And the Holy Land of Ireland,  
And time runs on,' cried she.  
'Come out of charity  
And dance with me in Ireland.'*

Granting that any explanation of a poem so delicate must be too literal and crude, let us say that a woman very like Crazy Jane is in a pub somewhere outside of Ireland. As she looks at the rowdy scene (even the orchestra is drunk—the fiddlers are all thumbs), suddenly she thinks of Ireland, of everything romantic the name can suggest, its heroic past, its holy miracles, its national aspirations, its beauty—everything which Yeats has captured in her song.<sup>50</sup> No one pays any attention, except one man, another Jack the Journeyman, who first pretends to take her literally ("that's a long way off and it's getting late"), and then, when she repeats her appeal, he "cocks a malicious eye"—gives her the wink, and agrees that there's no time to lose: they better get going. On which the woman sings her romantic vision all the more fiercely in the face of this coarse and common reduction of the ideal. Technically, the reduction is brilliantly made by having the man pick up the phrase about time running on and twist it to his own meaning; so that we feel at

<sup>49</sup> Cf. a remark in "J. M. Synge and Ireland" (1910), *Essays*, p. 401), where Yeats sums up the "lineaments" of Ireland in a phrase of Borrow's: "'Oh, Ireland, mother of the bravest soldiers and of the most beautiful women!'" The refrain is a brilliant adaptation of a medieval lyric called "The Irish dancer," printed in *A treasury of Middle English verse*, ed. Margot R. Adamson (1930), p. 56:

"I come from Ireland  
From the Holy Land  
Of Ireland.  
Good sir, I pray to thee,  
For of Saint Charity,  
Come out and dance with me  
In Ireland!"

<sup>50</sup> *New Republic*, LXXVII (1933), 135. Cf. Theodore Spencer (cited in n. 3), p. 171.

once, intuitively, the contrast between two very different dances, holy and unholy, between charity and lust. In short, the greatness of the poem lies in its simple statement of tragic contrast. What Yeats wrote in 1909 of Synge's characters is true of this Crazy Jane heroine:

Person after person in these laughing, sorrowful, heroic plays is, 'the like of the little children do be listening to the stories of an old woman, and do be dreaming after in the dark night it's in grand houses of gold they are, with speckled horses to ride, and do be waking again in a short while and they destroyed with the cold, and the thatch dripping, maybe, and the starved ass braying in the yard.'<sup>51</sup>

In the poem, however, this general pattern is given a specific form—the image of the hero as reflected in the malicious eye of the world. It is therefore the dramatic answer to the question in the "Dialogue":

The finished man among his enemies?—  
How in the name of Heaven can he escape  
That defiling and disfigured shape  
The mirror of malicious eyes  
Casts upon his eyes?

There is no escape; there is only the counteraffirmation of heroic song. A few years later Yeats was to say that "the east has its solutions always and therefore knows nothing of tragedy; it is we, not the east, that must raise the heroic cry."<sup>52</sup>

That remark sums up the interpretation so far advanced of Yeats's development from *A vision to Words for music perhaps*. But the later work contains other poems, not yet mentioned, which do involve the solutions of the east. Does this introduce the earlier mood of mystical search? Or is the tragic and heroic note sustained and the unity of the volume preserved?

A few of the final lyrics are doctrinal

<sup>51</sup> "Preface to . . . Synge's poems and translations," *Essays*, p. 383. Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 124.

<sup>52</sup> *Letters on poetry*, p. 9.

statements of Yeats's Neo-Platonism. In the dialectic of emanation, time and eternity are not separate entities (poem xxiii). That is why the "self-begotten" cannot fail (poem xxiv): not being bound by "winding-sheet and swaddling-clothes," they can return to the perfection from which they descended into time—and they return without loss of individuality. Yeats's explanation of why he preferred Plotinus to Plato is important (and incidentally accounts for the relevance of poem xxv):

So far the Ideas had been everything, the individual nothing; beauty and truth alone had mattered to Plato and Socrates, but Plotinus thought that every individual had his Idea, his eternal counterpart.<sup>53</sup>

What is Yeats's conception of this Idea? In his theory of the afterlife, we not only "live our lives backward for a certain number of years" but most of all relive our "passionate moments" in dream.<sup>54</sup> The dead are conceived in the image of the hero:

Certainly the dreams stay the longer, the greater their passion when alive: Helen may still open her chamber door to Paris or watch him from the wall. . . . Surely of the passionate dead we can but cry in words Ben Jonson meant for none but Shakespeare: 'So rammed' are they 'with life they can but grow in life with being.'

No wonder that when the Plotinian doctrine of survival is dramatically expressed by Tom, the predominant passion is not the mysticism of the east:

Sang old Tom the lunatic  
That sleeps under the canopy;  
'What change has put my thoughts astray  
And eyes that had so keen a sight?  
What has turned to smoking wick  
Nature's pure unchanging light?

<sup>53</sup> *A vision* (1938 ed.), p. 247; and cf. the discussion of Plotinus mentioned below in n. 57.

<sup>54</sup> *Autobiography*, p. 320; "Anima mundi" (1917), *Essays*, p. 528, which is also the reference for the quotation that follows.

'Hudson and Duddon and Daniel O'Leary,  
Holy Joe, the beggar-man,  
Wenching, drinking, still remain  
Or sing a penance on the road;  
Something made these eyeballs weary  
That blinked and saw them in a shroud.

'Whatever stands in field or flood  
Bird, beast, fish or man,  
Mare or stallion, cock or hen,  
Stands in God's unchanging eye  
In all the vigour of its blood;  
In that faith I live or die.'

Tom's faith in what MacNeice has aptly called "the spirituality of blood" is, in effect, a faith in the indestructibility of energy.<sup>15</sup> That is why, in spite of the religious orientation, the experience in the last stanza is scarcely different in quality from that which closes the "Dialogue." Here, as there, the feeling of sanctity, which is extended in both cases from the individual to "everything we look upon," does not descend from God upon a repentant man but rises from an inner sense of supreme strength. The accent of heroic joy is therefore precisely the same. As soon as the metaphysic passes from statement to dramatic expression, its emotional context is sensual and heroic.

The implication that Yeats was not sustained, at bottom, by the solutions of the east is acutely revealed by "Crazy Jane on God," for there the metaphysic has become in fact—and I think unconsciously—merely a rhetorical medium. Because he believed that "the *Spirit* is compelled to live over and over again the events that had most moved it," Yeats thought that we might see "in certain fields dead huntsmen riding with horse and hound, or *ancient armies fighting above bones or ashes*."<sup>16</sup> In 1931, building on Plotinus' doctrine of the "Ideal archetype of particular beings" (*Enneads* v. 7. 1), he

concluded that "the game-keeper did hear those footsteps the other night that sounded like the footsteps of a stag where stag has not passed these hundred years," "*the Irish country-woman did see the ruined castle lit up.*"<sup>17</sup>

#### CRAZY JANE ON GOD

That lover of a night  
Came when he would,  
Went in the dawning light  
Whether I would or no;  
Men come, men go;  
*All things remain in God.*

Banners choke the sky;  
Men-at-arms tread;  
Armoured horses neigh  
Where the great battle was  
In the narrow pass:  
*All things remain in God.*

Before their eyes a house  
That from childhood stood  
Uninhabited, ruinous,  
Suddenly lit up  
From door to top:  
*All things remain in God.*

I had wild Jack for a lover;  
Though like a road  
That men pass over  
My body makes no moan  
But sings on:  
*All things remain in God.*

It might seem that Yeats has projected his metaphysic into a dramatic situation, but closer inspection proves, I think, that the doctrines are not in the poem at all. Their function ended, so to speak, when they had given the imagination its angle of vision and its images. Yeats said himself that his system "helped me to hold in a single thought reality and justice" and that the voices who dictated *A vision* had come to give him "metaphors for poetry."<sup>18</sup> The final stanza makes it clear

<sup>15</sup> *The poetry of Yeats*, p. 161.

<sup>16</sup> *A vision* (1938 ed.), p. 226; "Anima mundi," *Essays*, p. 520. The italics are mine.

<sup>17</sup> *A vision* (1938 ed.), pp. 25 and 8.

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<sup>18</sup> *Autobi...*

that Crazy Jane is not sustained by any philosophy of ghostly permanence or by any atom of faith that she will find her lover again when time is gone. Her fortitude rests on an act of acceptance and the permanent possession *in time* of a love once realized. That is why the refrain does not carry its literal and Plotinian meaning and why the images of stanzas two and three, however "true" in Jane's mind—or in Yeats's—are metaphorical analogies to illustrate a permanence wholly natural. In short, as Yeats once said of a dramatic poem which starts from a bundle of ideas, "gradually philosophy is eliminated until at last the only philosophy audible . . . is the mere expression of one character"<sup>59</sup>—and that philosophy is not Plotinian. Nor is it Christian. Though the refrain is reminiscent of Dante's "nella sua volontà è la nostra pace," the act of acceptance is not one of Christian humility. Jane is not filled with the love of God but the love of Jack; and, however she may describe her destiny as the providence of God, she accepts it with the same heroic fortitude that stands alone, without religious reference, at the close of the "Dialogue." Unless this were so, we should miss the poignant sense of tragedy.

#### V. EVALUATION

If *Words for music perhaps* is the final crystallization of Yeats's art, its evaluation is an index to his achievement. Some remarks of Spender's in 1934 state the derogatory position:

Yeats' poetry is devoid of any unifying moral subject.

Although he has much wisdom, he offers no philosophy of life, but, as a substitute, a magical system . . . not socially constructive.

In his later poems, although there is great show of intellectualism, he rests really always on certain qualities, rather than ideas, such as

breeding and courtesy. For the thought is hopelessly inadequate to his situation.<sup>60</sup>

The force of this attack is vitiated by overstatement. A magical system is not what Yeats substituted for a philosophy of life; nor are breeding and courtesy the qualities affirmed in the later heroic poems (they are hardly conspicuous in Crazy Jane). But, if Spender's criticism is distorted, it is the distortion of a truth, for *Words for music perhaps* is indeed devoid of any unifying moral subject, and for that reason it is not socially constructive.

For all his citation of Sophocles and Shakespeare, Yeats produces a very different tragic effect. Because the hero is not at war with evil, within or without, we cannot feel that profound sense of pity and terror which comes from witnessing a world of moral disorder. On the contrary we "rejoice in every happiness that comes to him, and sorrow at his death as if it were our own."<sup>61</sup> This is hardly the mood of tragic catharsis. It is the mood Yeats described in the essay of "Poetry and tradition" and in terms which show its close connection with the heroic psychology of self-surrender and self-assertion (he had just mentioned the death scenes of Timon and Cleopatra):

The nobleness of the Arts is in the mingling of contraries, the extremity of sorrow, the extremity of joy, perfection of personality, the perfection of its surrender, overflowing turbulent energy, and marmorean stillness.<sup>62</sup>

Throughout all his criticism, Yeats spoke only once, that I recall, of "the purification that comes with pity and terror to the imagination and intellect,"<sup>63</sup> precisely the

<sup>60</sup> Spender, *The destructive element* (Boston and New York, 1936), pp. 128-29.

<sup>61</sup> *Controversies*, p. 104. The italics are mine.

<sup>62</sup> *Essays*, p. 316. Cf. the description of Synge's work (*ibid.*, p. 383) as "these laughing, sorrowful, heroic plays."

<sup>63</sup> "The theatre" (1900), *Essays*, p. 203.

effect most lacking in *Words for music perhaps*.

Those emotions, however, were dominant in one period of his work, and dominant because Yeats was then writing, for the first and last time, from a full awareness of evil, brought home to him by the First World War and the Irish Revolution. "The second coming," "Meditations in time of civil war," and "Nineteen hundred and nineteen" are great tragic odes, but their pity and terror is not "purified" because there is no counteraffirmation. "The growing murderousness of the world" stands unchallenged; no hero faces "the Savage God."<sup>64</sup> In "The second coming" the failure of aristocracy and the association of energy with evil mark for the moment the complete eclipse of heroic faith:

The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and every-  
where

The ceremony of innocence is drowned;  
The best lack all conviction, while the worst  
Are full of passionate intensity.<sup>65</sup>

Overwhelmed by this nightmare vision, Yeats could only revolt with "a rage to end all things."<sup>66</sup> Had he come through this period of despair and, with renewed faith in the heroism latent in man, still held fast to the moral problem, he would have created a tragic art in the same kind as Shakespeare's; but after the recoil toward mysticism he returned to the earlier mode of heroic art, however deepened and widened.

John F. Taylor was right when he said that Yeats's imagination was "aesthetic rather than ethical."<sup>67</sup> But for that we must hold the time largely responsible. His little-known essay on Lady Gregory's *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, written in 1902,

reveals the permanent effect of the age upon Yeats's developing imagination:

The Church when it was most powerful created an imaginative unity, for it taught learned and unlearned to climb, as it were, to the great moral realities. . . . The storytellers of Ireland, perhaps of every primitive country, created a like unity, only it was to the great aesthetic realities that they taught the people to climb. They created for learned and unlearned alike, a communion of heroes, a cloud of stalwart witnesses.<sup>68</sup>

Yeats's thought was inadequate to his situation, not because he hated democracy and Karl Marx, but because, when Huxley and Darwin destroyed his Christianity, they divorced his poetry from a moral basis and therefore from society. How serious that was for his tragic art is sharply exposed by an autobiographical passage of 1925, put into the mouth of Owen Aherne: although "Mr. Yeats has intellectual belief, . . . he is entirely without moral faith, without that sense, which should come to a man with terror and joy, of a Divine Presence." And he added that, "though he may seek, and may have always sought it, I am certain he will not find it in this life."<sup>69</sup> What he did find was an amoral faith in the heroic man.

That is the case against *Words for music perhaps*, but we must not be tempted—and the temptation is strong at the moment—into letting it determine a final estimate. It limits, but it does not invalidate, the claim of high achievement. A poetry of personality built on however defective a philosophy is a greater poetry than one which has sacrificed vitality of life to any abstraction of belief no matter how adequate. This is the validity behind Yeats's insistence, throughout the criticism of the 1930's, upon the superiority of Irish heroic art to the new movements in

<sup>64</sup> *Autobiography*, pp. 168, 297.

<sup>65</sup> *Poems*, p. 215.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>67</sup> *Autobiography*, p. 185.

<sup>68</sup> *The complete works of William Butler Yeats* (1908), VIII, 137.

<sup>69</sup> *A vision* (1925 ed.), pp. xxi–xxii.

England. In England, he said, the recovery of legend "checked by the realism of Eliot, the social passion of the war poets, gave way to an impersonal philosophical poetry"; while in Ireland, "a still living folk tradition," deepened by the civil war, made her poets harden their personalities and restore "the emotion of heroism to lyric poetry."<sup>70</sup> Beside his own fulfilment of that ideal, it seems true, as he claimed, that "most of the 'moderns'—Auden, Spender, etc., seem thin."<sup>71</sup> Even Eliot, though his poetry is never thin and its later values have become Christian, has not yet welded together his intense but fugitive sense of life into a rich and sensuous whole. When in *Becket* he presented a hero facing his destiny, the result was a little dry and abstract, a trifle archeological, beside the immediacy of Crazy Jane.

For Yeats's imagination, however aesthetic and nonmoral, has attained in *Words for music perhaps* the power of condensing a wide vision of life into symbols

that keep that vision fully alive. Without ceasing to be flesh and blood and brain, "the persons upon the stage," as he wrote in "The tragic theatre," "greaten till they are humanity itself."<sup>72</sup> Jack and Jane and Tom the Lunatic recreate the elemental experiences of man. What "seems to the hasty reader a mere story is completely life"<sup>73</sup>—though not the complete moral life of Shakespeare. The greatness and also the limitation of these poems cannot be stated better than by Yeats himself:

Art . . . shrinks . . . from every abstract thing, from all that is of the brain only, from all that is not a fountain jetting from the entire hopes, memories, and sensations of the body. Its morality is personal, knows little of any general law.

Artists and poets . . . come at last to forget good and evil in an absorbing vision of the happy and the unhappy.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> "Modern poetry: a broadcast" (1936), *Essays, 1931-1936*, pp. 26-27, and *The Oxford book of modern verse*, p. xv.

<sup>71</sup> *Letters on poetry*, p. 81.

<sup>72</sup> *Essays*, p. 303.

<sup>73</sup> *Autobiography*, p. 400.

<sup>74</sup> "Discoveries," *Essays*, p. 362; "William Blake and his illustrations to *The divine comedy*," *ibid.*, pp. 158-59.

## VICTORIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1942

*Edited by WILLIAM D. TEMPLEMAN*

**T**HIS bibliography has been prepared by a committee of the Victorian Literature Group of the Modern Language Association of America: William D. Templeman, chairman, University of Illinois; Charles Frederick Harold, Michigan State Normal College; Samuel P. Chew, University of Oklahoma; and Austin Wright, Carnegie Institute of Technology. It attempts to list the noteworthy publications of 1942 (including reviews of earlier items) that have a bearing on English literature of the Victorian period and similar publications of earlier date that have been inadvertently omitted from the preceding Victorian bibliography. Unless otherwise stated, the date of publication is 1942. Reference to a page in the bibliography for 1941, in *Modern philology*, May, 1942, is made by the following form: See VB 1941, 411. Some cross-references are given, although not all that are possible. For certain continuing bibliographical works, and for most of the abbreviations used, see the preceding Victorian bibliographies.

### KEY TO NEW ABBREVIATIONS

AGR	= American-German review
APSR	= American political science review
BLR	= Bodleian Library record
BSP	= Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America
DUJ	= Durham Univ. journal
HJ	= Hibbert journal
JHI	= Journal of the history of ideas
JRLB	= Bull. of the John Rylands Library
MDU	= Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht
MLJ	= Modern language journal
PLC	= Princeton University Library chronicle

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In the preface to Mr. Weber's *Hardy of Wessex: his life and literary career*, published in 1940, the author called Hardy "the most voluminously discussed writer of modern times." This book is a supplement to *Hardy of Wessex*. It presents a

list of works consulted by Mr. Weber for his writing of the biography. Such a list was too long to be given as an appendix, printed and bound with the biography. But the book presents also the titles of works written in foreign languages about Hardy—including Swedish, Russian, Italian, Polish, Chinese, Japanese. Finally, it attempts to incorporate in its listings a record of "everything that had ever been written about Hardy anywhere during his first hundred years." In order that the many writings called forth by the centenary of Hardy's birth could be listed in this centenary volume, it was not sent to press until the end of 1941; numerous memorial articles did not appear until during 1941.

This bibliography has omitted mention, I believe, of no important items about Hardy. I believe, further, that an exceedingly small number of Hardiana of even slight value have been left out of its lists. Every person, scholar or not, who has enjoyed reading Hardy's work and who looks at this book will be pleased to see it, for a lover of work by a certain author likes to learn that many other readers share his enthusiasm. He will be grateful to Mr. Weber for thus indicating the remarkable popularity of Hardy—remarkable in its variety, its pervasiveness, and its persistence.—W. D. T.

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- Pritchett, V. S. "Books in general." *NS*, June 6, p. 371.  
More about the "innumerable spots" on Meredith's sun; but vices become virtues in *The egoist*.
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Rev. by A. Levi in *JMH*, XIV, 277.
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Discussion of Morris and the Kelmscott press and comment upon "a leaf from the Kelmscott Chaucer together with a monograph by Carl Purington Rollins," brought out by Philip C. Duchenes, 507 Fifth Ave., New York.
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Quarrel between Tennyson and Irving over the production of *Becket*.
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- Mortimer, Ray. "Books in general." *NS*, Oct. 10, p. 241; and Oct. 17, p. 258.  
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- Sparke, Archibald. "Literary inaccuracies." *N & Q*, April 25, p. 233.  
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- "A Tennyson emendation." *TLS*, Oct. 10, p. 499.
- "[Tennyson] fifty years after." *TLS*, Oct. 10, p. 499.
- Woods, Margaret L. "My recollections of Tennyson." *Poetry rev.*, XXXIII, 276-77.
- Yohannon, J. D. "Tennyson and Persian poetry." *MLN*, LVII, 83-92.
- Thackeray (see also III, Gordon, Maly-Schatter). Boll, Ernest. "The author of *Elizabeth Brownrigg*: a review of Thackeray's techniques." *SP*, XXXIX, 79-101.
- Cline, C. L. "Thackeray and the 'Morning chronicle'." *TLS*, Dec. 19, p. 619.
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- Dodds, John W. *Thackeray*. . . . See VB 1941, 417.  
Rev. by M. Rosa in *SeR*, L, 270-73; by M. Williams in *English*, IV, 95-96; briefly in *CE*, III, 430; in *TLS*, Aug. 29, p. 426 (see also pp. 427, 475, 571).
- Pritchett, V. S. *In my good books*. London: Chatto & Windus. Pp. 192.  
Includes his *NS* essays on Thackeray (see VB 1941, 418), Synge, and others.

**Ray**, Gordon Norton. "Thackeray and France." *Harvard univ. summaries of theses, 1940* (pub. 1942), pp. 353-56.

**Scudder**, Harold H. "Thackeray and N. P. Willis." *PMLA*, LVII, 589-92.

**Thompson** (see *Tennyson*: Meehan).

**Trelawny**. Becker, M. L. "Trelawny." *HTB*, March 22, p. 20.

Note (in "The reader's guide") on Trelawny and works about him.

**Trollope** (see also III, Bowen). Chapman, R. W. "A correction in Trollope." *TLS*, March 7, p. 116.

Chapman, R. W. "The text of Trollope's *Ayala's angel*." *MP*, XXXIX, 287-94.

**Sadleir**, Michael. "Caldigate novels." *TLS*, Dec. 20, 1941, p. 643. See also Jan. 3, p. 7.

**Sadleir**, Michael. "A new Trollope item." *TLS*, July 25, p. 372.

*Third report of the Postmaster General* (1857). Reply from Charles Clay, Aug. 8, p. 396; from Sadleir, Aug. 29, p. 432.

"The text of Trollope." *TLS*, Jan. 10, p. 24.

**Tinker**, C. B., and Chapman, R. W. "The text of Trollope's *Phineas redux*." *RES*, XVIII, 86-92. See also corr. by H. Summers on XVIII, 228.

A reply by Chapman to Gavin Bone's defense of the received text, and evidence from the MS (Tinker's) that about half of Chapman's emendations are justified.

**Y., Y.** "Delightful." *NS*, April 18, pp. 255-56.

**Tupper**. Buchmann, Ralf. *Martin F. Tupper and the Victorian middle class mind*. ("Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten," No. 10.) Bern: A. Francke AG., 1941. Pp. 165. Rev. by M. Thrall in *MLN*, LVII, 677-79.

Mr. Buchmann investigates the following sorts of Victorian middle-class ideas and ideals: those dealing with faith in the Bible, the Anglican Revival, science, morality, the Christian gentleman, home life, education, money, success, utility, progress, optimism, social sentimentalism, the political compromise, and patriotism. He centers his study of these in statements by Tupper. Although he points out some things of interest and value, I quote one sentence as a warning

of what the reader must be on guard against: "He [Tupper] 'outbrownings' Browning's 'God's in His Heaven, all's right with the world,' in his Ballad of 'Optimism.'"

At one place Buchmann states that his purpose has been to illustrate a class by specifying an individual (Tupper) and by comparing his ideas and ideals with those of other middle-class individuals. He is making, says he, "a purely historical survey of Victorian middle class literature, life, and thought." Elsewhere, however, he gives a different indication of his purpose, stating his belief that a close study of the Victorian bourgeoisie will make their defects odious to the present, will help us to free ourselves from these "fetters of a narrow-minded bourgeois Weltanschauung." But to be successful, says he, his work must be "strictly critical," must "relentlessly satirize," must be "purely critical and destructive." He insists that we "must destroy the conventional, the smug, the commonplace, that which found its outlet in Tupper's works as the opinion of a wide public"—must destroy them because we have inherited them from the Victorians, and them "we have to destroy and kill even in ourselves." But in the next paragraph he declares that we have inherited good as well as bad. Then, in the second paragraph farther along, he concludes as follows: "The Victorian middle class mind deserves severe criticism to destroy the barriers of self-assurance and conceit built up around its weak core." This reviewer finds a confusion of intentions, and a loose, hazy, and badly labored *apologia*.

A considerable weakness in this study is that it does not give Tupper credit, as Thomas Secombe did, for certain good ideas and actions; and that it also fails to give the Victorian middle-class mind similar credit—credit that it deserved probably to a greater degree than did Tupper.—W. D. T.

**Watson** (see I, Walpole).

**Wilde** (see II, Wilson).

**Wilson, John**. Pittman, Diana. "Key to the mystery of Edgar Allan Poe. . . ." *Southern literary messenger*, IV, 143-68.

Shows great influence of Wilson upon Poe, especially in "The raven."

Strout, Alan Lang. "The recreations of Christopher North, 1842." *N & Q*, June 6, pp. 314-15; Aug. 1, pp. 69-71.

Passages in the book identified in the original numbers of *Blackwood's*.

**Yeats** (see also III, Clinton-Baddeley, Enright; Shaw; Bax). Hone, Joseph. *W. B. Yeats, 1865-1939*. New York and London: Macmillan. Pp. viii+535.

Authorized biography. Includes treatment of Arthur Symons, Stevenson, Bridges, Henley, Morris, and many others.

*Southern review: the William Butler Yeats memorial issue*, Vol. VII, No. 3. Pp. 260.

Rev. in *CE*, III, 601-2. Contains 15 articles: Howard Baker, "Domes of Byzantium"; R. P. Blackmur, "Between myth and philosophy: fragments of W. B. Yeats"; Kenneth Burke, "On motivation in Yeats"; Donald Davidson, "Yeats and the centaur"; T. S. Eliot, "The poetry of W. B. Yeats"; Horace Gregory, "W. B. Yeats and the mask of Jonathan Swift"; Randall Jarrell, "The development of Yeats's sense of reality"; L. C. Knights, "W. B. Yeats: the assertion of values"; F. O. Matthiessen, "The crooked road"; Arthur Mizener, "The romanticism of W. B. Yeats"; John Crowe Ransom, "The Irish, the Gaelic, the Byzantine"; Delmore Schwartz, "An unwritten book"; Allen Tate, "Yeats's romanticism: notes and suggestions"; Austin Warren, "Religio poetæ"; Morton D. Zabel, "The thinking of the body: Yeats in the autobiographies."

This Yeats memorial issue is even better than the Hardy volume (see *VB* 1940, 452), possibly

because Yeats's poetry offers more of a challenge than does Hardy's. The fifteen distinguished authors of this symposium have written with the scholarship and fine critical insight which has always characterized the *Southern review*, and the result is the most impressive volume of criticism which has yet appeared about a poet of this century.

We have here brilliant studies of various aspects of Yeats's work, but some of the more baffling problems are left unsolved. There is no agreement upon the matter of the romanticism of the later Yeats, and even on the question of evaluation there is wide difference of opinion. To Eliot, Yeats is the greatest of modern poets; to Blackmur he is the greatest English poet since the seventeenth century; but by others he is weighed and found wanting.

The student of Victorian literature may perhaps find fault with the volume in that the critical bias of certain of the authors results in a contemptuous treatment of the early "romantic" Yeats. He is studied as a rare example of a romantic poet who grew up, gained wisdom. Now the peculiar significance of the later poetry will be admitted by all, but it is at least doubtful that posterity will dismiss the earlier Yeats, along with the other Pre-Raphaelite poets, as unworthy of serious notice. The task of the critic is to educate the taste to the poetry of the past, not to break the poetry of the past on the Procrustean bed of the taste of the present.—S. P. C.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Literary scholarship: its aims and methods.* By NORMAN FOERSTER, JOHN C. MCGALLIARD, RENÉ WELLEK, AUSTIN WARREN, and WILBUR L. SCHRAMM. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. viii + 269.

In the present volume the director and four staff members of the School of Letters at the University of Iowa offer a discussion which is at once a critique of our present literary scholarship and a proposal for the future. Mr. Foerster, dealing with the study of letters in general, recounts a miniature history of literary scholarship which serves to indicate, quite correctly, that such study has come to model itself too closely upon the methods of empirical science; that it has in that process not merely postponed interpretation of and construction upon its endless collection of data, not merely wandered far afield, but has ultimately lost sight of the very nature and purpose of polite learning. The new scholarship, Mr. Foerster proposes, should restore what we have lost; it must bring about "a common intellectual life" by the reintegration of literary study with the other humanities; it must be made to yield again "aesthetic sensitivity, an ability to write firmly, a concern for general ideas, and an insight into the permanent human values embodied in literature" (p. 20). The four "disciplines" which are to permit this restoration—linguistics, literary history, literary criticism, and creative writing—are the subjects of the remaining essays. Mr. McGaillard, after a résumé of linguistic studies, points out that it is necessary to have "a sure knowledge of the writer's language" and that, on the other hand, linguistic analysis should not be carried to such extremes as to preclude appreciation. Mr. Wellek, admirably distinguishing many species of literary history, ultimately suggests a re-examination of methods and aims, a synthesis and co-ordination of the work already accomplished, a literary history with closer relation

to the work of art, and even, at last, a "revival of the lost art of writing history." Mr. Warren and Mr. Schramm argue respectively that practical criticism and creative writing belong among the academic disciplines and also that critic, writer, and scholar will derive mutual advantage from that association.

Such a volume as this, sincerely addressed to the solution of difficult and important issues, must command our respect. Doubtless many graduate students will feel that the book affords a brighter prospect for scholarship, and doubtless, also, there will be few more mature scholars too complacent to feel the justice of the charges which the authors bring against our present modes of study. Nevertheless, the book leaves much room for objection, on the score of both the methods and the aims which it proposes for scholarship.

What the authors principally wish to bring about is the coincidence of scholar, critic, and writer in the student of humane letters. It should go without saying that this is an intention blameworthy or praiseworthy—and even possible or impossible of achievement—according as we define the terms involved; and our definitions of these terms are themselves merely aspects of perhaps broadly different modes of consideration. Not merely are the criteria and the judgments which they permit dependent upon the mode of consideration; the distinction between scholar, critic, and writer is itself meaningful only in a certain treatment. In one sense, for instance, each must necessarily involve all three, for the operations of each must involve knowing, judging, and making; and, indeed, not only the requisite faculties but also the activities and the products which these make possible would ultimately appear as identical. In this manner of consideration, however, there would be not four disciplines but one; and the authors of the present volume, despite their insistence on four disciplines, appear not completely unaware of this

fact. If we observe the aims of the literary historian as Mr. Wellek states them, for instance, it is clear that the ideal historian is the scholar, critic, and writer who happens to write literary history which in itself would be an excellent specimen of creative writing; the course of training which effects this result, according to Mr. Wellek, is the single discipline of literary history. In a similar manner each of the other authors of special essays makes the same claim for his subject; each can cite instances of the coincidence of the faculties in certain individuals as proof that his aim is possible; and each can apply the same touchstones to determine proprieties or improprieties of method.

If, on the other hand, we accept the statement that there are four disciplines, it is by no means clear why these particular disciplines should have been chosen rather than certain others; or why it is desirable that these should converge in the single scholar; or even how, granting the natural possibility of such convergence, the apparatus suggested by the authors would make it academically possible. With respect to the first point we may grant that, in the abstract, the scholar who knows more and can do more, all other things being equal, is better off than one who knows less and can do less; but in any concrete instance the special knowledges required for intelligent study of a literary work would be wholly unpredictable, and important general disciplines would be required which the authors have not seen fit to mention. Generally speaking, the texts with which literary scholars are confronted are of four kinds: they are either scientific or philosophic, rhetorical, poetic (i.e., imaginative), or historical and as such would require for their proper explication analytic skills of either a logical, rhetorical, poetic, or historiographical order; and naturally, since all texts are constructions of language, linguistic analysis would be requisite, to some extent at least, in all. Of these five disciplines only three are represented in the present prospectus; and I hope it will not seem unduly censorious to remark that, even of these, Mr. Wellek's essay alone contains elements of an analytic which might differentiate and expound the various texts which would fall within its scope.

With respect to the desirability of the proposed convergence it is not clear why a historian is in any way a better historian for being a good stylist or, for that matter, even for being a good poet as well; it is not clear, in brief, why any of these disciplines, if they are really distinct and differentiable, should involve primary dependencies upon all others.

The problem of the appropriateness and efficacy of the proposed methods is a complex one: it involves the consideration of the possibility of the aims, their actual consequence upon the methods, and the preferability of the methods themselves to alternative methods having the same direction; and in general there are many questions which might be raised, all relevant ultimately to the problem of whether the faculties required of the scholar in this high conception can be acquired through instruction by sufficiently many students to a sufficient degree. To cite illustrious instances of this kind of scholar is by no means to give certain proof that the capacities in question may be produced by instruction; and to propose a program is a far cry from demonstration that the disciplines in which it consists are actually related to their aims as means to end. In the case of subjects conventionally accepted as "academic," the correlation of means and ends is likely to be taken for granted, out of the inertia of custom; few, if any, will debate the place of linguistics and history in the literary curriculum or doubt that these subjects may be taught, but, in the case of literary criticism and creative writing, many will contest both their academic status and the possibility of their cultivation by teaching; and it is unfortunate, therefore, that the arguments offered by their respective proponents here are not quite effective. Mr. Schramm's reasoning is especially unimpressive; arguing that the creative process "involves hard thinking and imaginative insight" and that "art is concerned with reality," "art is symbols," and "art is reality," he concludes that creative writing is a proper item of the literary curriculum; unfortunately, the same premises will prove the necessity of including in the curriculum not only all the arts, useful and fine, but also a host of subjects somewhat remote from scholarship—for in-

stance, charades and crossword puzzles. One's earlier suspicion that the program is too ambitious is considerably reinforced by the discovery that Mr. Schramm is somewhat vague and reticent concerning the method by which literary artistry is to be produced. The standard by which this artistry is to be judged is also a little depressing; as Mr. Foerster puts it, the standard would be "equivalence to the quality of the books issued by the best American publishers." Aside from the fact that the decision of excellence is rather complicated than simplified by such consideration, since it would thus involve a double rather than a single judgment, one may wonder whether the obviously wide range of quality would not make any talk of "equivalence" perfectly meaningless.

Indeed, the problem of fixing the proper criterion might better have been referred to Mr. Warren, who is as aware of the multiplicity of critical as Mr. Wellek is of the plurality of historical methods. Mr. Warren distinguishes the history from the theory and practice of criticism and makes an excellent attempt to categorize critical methods and to indicate the kinds of criteria which regulate them. There is little to which one might take exception in this essay; but, if one were to discuss that little, one might say that perhaps the categories are not quite so simple or so few; that they appear topical rather than methodological, as Mr. Warren treats them; and that method suffers in the "reconciliation" of methods which the author suggests, since that very reconciliation smacks of a syncretism at variance with the "attention to aim and method" which he ultimately proposes; for, if a reconciliation is to be effected, the warring philosophies must either be reconciled as part to part or as whole to whole, in which case critical methods would appear as so many studiously different ways of saying the same things, or else they complement each other—and this appears to be Mr. Warren's own conception—as parts in the whole of the complete Criticism, in which case the same repetition would ensue. All these objections reduce to one, namely, that, despite the many excellences of the essay, Mr. Warren does not here offer a sufficiently elaborate and precise instrument for the analysis of critical

method; and, since the teachability of criticism as Mr. Warren conceives it depends upon that instrument, one may well be puzzled to know how the unquestionable advantages in view are to be achieved.

Certainly, however, this volume as a whole propounds many important issues for consideration; and, although these frequently give the impression of receiving too facile and too arbitrary treatment, it is undoubtedly valuable that they should be discussed. Whether the proposed program will obviate the aridities of scholarship, whether it will "make the academic desert blossom," as certain critics seem to think, the present reviewer is by no means convinced. Aridity is dependent upon interest; and it is probable that wherever the concern of the scholar exceeds the interest of the layman, the latter will complain of scholarly aridity. A more worthy consideration for scholarship, and a more fortunate one for this book, is the reflection that anything which inculcates the critical re-examination of the methods and aims of scholarship is salutary to scholarship; and in the light of that reflection our debt to the present volume is perfectly clear.

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*Humanism in England during the fifteenth century.* By COUNT ROBERTO WEISS. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1941. ("Medium Aevum monographs," No. 4.) Pp. xxiii+190.

Students of that all too obscure period in English history, the fifteenth century, will be glad to have this book; students of English humanism in that age will find it indispensable. Here, in fewer than two hundred pages, the reader has before him the most complete survey of fifteenth-century English humanism yet to appear; as Professor Schirmer a few years ago gave us a much fuller picture than the pioneer outline of Einstein, so Count Weiss has advanced beyond Schirmer. Further research will turn up new facts; specialists will be able to add a point here or there or to correct an occasional error; but it is safe to say that this will be the standard handbook on the subject for many years.

The book is at once an arsenal of facts and an interpretation of them—an attempt to characterize the movement to which they belong. Not all will accept without reservation Count Weiss's views on the nature of humanism, either English or Italian; but there can be no disagreement on the value of his facts. Wisely, he adopts the method followed by Voight and Sandys—the biographical rather than the subject arrangement. He has tried to sketch the lives of all the figures involved, and to estimate their significance for one aspect or another of the movement, rather than to describe the movement in each of these aspects, subordinating the characters to the story as a whole. Still, the result has been not merely a collection of biographical notes; the various figures have been grouped together, usually as members of "circles," and a measure of continuity has been preserved.

The aim of the book, in the words of its author, "is to give a concise survey of humanism in England during the fifteenth century." Actually, however, Count Weiss finds it advisable to limit his study to the years 1418-85; unlike Krusman, he finds nothing that can properly be called humanism before Poggio's coming to England. The year of Bosworth is chosen at the other end of the period for "practical considerations": with the advent of Henry VII, English humanism passes from the hands of the amateurs into those of professionals, and the great humanists of the next age have not as yet made their appearance; while to have stopped precisely at 1500 would have been to cut in two the lives of Linacre, More, Colet, and Grocyn. As a matter of fact, the year 1485 cuts in two the lives of some people—Pietro Carmeliano, for example; but Count Weiss quite properly regards this as the less serious of the two dissections (p. 172).

There is, to be sure, some repetition of old material; but to have left this out would have been a serious inconvenience to the reader, who, obviously, is benefited by having as much of the story as possible in one place. (Occasionally, indeed, he wishes he had more; for example, there is a solitary reference [p. 102, n. 3] to R. Widow, whose name has already appeared in Leland's list of great early hu-

manists [p. ix]. A short account of his life would have been welcome, especially since he is passed over by the *DNB*, Bale, Wood, etc.) But the amazing thing about the book is the amount of new material collected about a large number of the figures treated. From his own special studies and from those of other scholars Count Weiss has gathered together much information hitherto scattered or quite unknown; we must be particularly grateful to him for his patient search through manuscripts—a thorny path through which Professor Schirmer did little traveling, as Count Weiss does not fail to point out. As a result some figures decrease in stature and others grow: Cornelio Vitelli, for example, did not come to England in 1475, as was formerly supposed, but some fifteen years later; hence he could not have had the importance for the introduction of Greek at Oxford that was once attributed to him (p. 173). On the other hand, John Farley of Oxford (d. 1464) is brought into a position of real importance as "probably the first person in fifteenth-century Oxford to attempt to learn Greek" (p. 137); and Archbishop George Neville of York, like Duke Humphrey and Tiptoft, is elevated to the dignity of Maecenas to a circle of humanists.

It is chiefly in the introduction and conclusion that room may be found for disagreement with the author. These two sections should be read together; one of them often clarifies a statement made in the other. Count Weiss's general position is this: "While at the beginning of the century English cultural standards were still thoroughly mediæval, at its close they conformed to a certain extent with the ideals of the Renaissance" (p. 1); on the eve of the Reformation, there is a "compromise between the culture of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance"; then "English learning included the best characteristics of humanism and scholasticism" (p. 183). The attitude of fifteenth-century English scholars toward humanism was utilitarian: it was considered useful in the study of philosophy, theology, grammar, rhetoric, and in the diplomatic service. As a result, there was in England no conflict between humanism and scholasticism, as there was in Italy (p. 183). Thus Count Weiss; but surely

the difference between the course of humanism in England and in Italy was not so clearly marked. On the one hand, the humanism of many Italian scholars was "utilitarian," i.e., based on a didactic view of all learning; one thinks of Ficino and Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino and Mirandola. On the other hand, the progress of humanism in England was not without its scholastic opponents: one of them at Oxford became vocal in More's time, but he could hardly have been alone—it requires some backing for "devout ignorance" to make a display in public.

Count Weiss remarks that there is no general agreement on the meaning of the term "humanism"; nevertheless, he quite properly takes the risk of giving his own definition: as far as this book is concerned,

"Humanism" will be understood to embrace the whole range of classical studies and activities as conceived by the Italians from the days of Petrarch, and by "humanist" the scholar who studied the writings of ancient authors without fear of supernatural anticiceronian warnings, searched for manuscripts of lost or rare classical texts, collected the works of classical writers, and attempted to learn Greek and write like the ancient authors of Rome [p. 1].

As it stands, this definition of humanist is satisfactory enough, although the author might have said (what I am sure he would agree to) that not every humanist did all the things he mentions; one is reminded of a somewhat similar list of humanistic activities drawn up by Professor E. K. Rand. In his *Founders of the Middle Ages*, pages 102-3, he includes the ability to "let free a flood of good billingsgate" and the willingness to get manuscripts by any means—even theft—as marks of the humanist; but he adds that not all humanists steal manuscripts or indulge in "cultivated billingsgate." And, as it stands, Count Weiss's definition of humanism seems not too wide of the mark, although one might like to see the phrase "the Italians" more narrowly limited; one suspects any suggestion that all Italians thought the same at any time. Be that as it may, most people will feel that he has overstated the case when he says that "in Italy

humanism had been considered as a new intellectual system displacing or revising all the conceptions of the Middle Ages" (p. 179). For men like Beccadelli and Pomponio Leto this may have been very nearly true; but there were many humanists like Guarino and Vittorino da Feltre who displaced or revised only some of their medieval conceptions. The rebels in faith and morals—like Aretino and Callimachus—get more than their share of publicity. It was as true of academic rebels in the fifteenth century as it is today.

There are other statements in the introduction and conclusion to which objection may be offered. Like those above they will usually be found to be reminiscent of Burckhardt, suggesting too great a readiness to generalize and too great a break between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance; they make the division too simple. It is too neat to say, for example, that to the medieval mind "an ancient literary work is regarded [merely] as a source of facts," while to the Renaissance mind it is "a work of art from which inspiration of an aesthetic and stylistic nature could be derived" (p. 3). If this is all the Renaissance mind got out of the classics, it must indeed have overlooked much. It certainly is not all that Erasmus, the prince of humanists, got out of them. He regarded the great works of pagan antiquity not only as furnishing models of style but also as imparting wisdom. What Count Weiss says here he can hardly mean, in view of what he says in another place. In the conclusion he speaks several times about the content of the classics, "the new intellectual system" of the Renaissance, the "reaction against those cultural canons" of the Middle Ages, the "wider intellectual issues raised by the Italian humanists" (p. 180). And he seems clearly to contradict his own words when he remarks that "style has seldom been an end in itself" (p. 180).

The format of the book is good; so is the proofreading. I have noticed only two typographical errors—a misspelling of "Huntington" (p. 126, n. 7) and of "Humanisme" (p. 22, n. 3), but the latter was corrected by hand in my copy before it reached me. The author is to be commended for giving a useful bibliogra-

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phy, including a list of the manuscripts he has used. Surveys of this sort are all too frequently lacking in any sort of bibliography, and so we ought to be grateful for what is given. However, one cannot help voicing a regret that this is not more complete. It is true, of course, that such a bibliography as we have here does not aim at completeness; but still one can hardly avoid wondering at certain omissions—for example, why Eubel was left out, although the older and less accurate Gams is included. Most users of the book will not applaud the decision (announced on p. vi) to include in the list only those books and articles "quoted more than once in the notes." The result is that one often loses track of important items because they do appear only once—and it is all the more difficult to find them for that very reason. For instance, of the nine references given in the notes on page 6, only one is in the bibliography. And they cannot be traced through the index, because the index unfortunately does not list the authors of books and articles quoted.

It is likewise regrettable that the index is restricted to names. A subject index would be particularly useful in a book which, quite properly, chooses a biographical rather than a topical arrangement. For example, the very valuable facts about the beginnings of the study of Greek in fifteenth-century England are necessarily scattered about in several places, and it is not easy to find them all at short notice. Similarly, it is tantalizing to read (on p. 5) of the importance of calligraphy in the study of the Italian influence and then to have to wait until encountering it in the text to pursue the subject further.

There will always be, in a book of this kind, a fact or two to be added, or a point to be modified, by every reader of the work. With respect to the treatment of grammar-teaching at Oxford (pp. 168–72), the following observations may be made:

1. Along with the works of Valla and Perotus, the grammatical writings of Sulpitius enjoyed great fame in the fifteenth century, both on the Continent and in England. W. C. Hazlitt (*Schools, school-books and schoolmasters* [2d

ed.; New York, 1905], pp. 40–41) went as far as to regard Sulpitius as "perhaps the leader" in the new grammatical movement (although he was a few years later than Perotus).

2. Anwykyl's grammar included among its sources not only Perotus and Valla but also Servius, if we may believe the title: *Compendium totius grammaticae, ex Laurentio Valla, Servio, et Perotto.*

3. It is not at all certain that "Anwykyl composed a *Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio in anglica lingua traducta*" (p. 169, n. 3). This assumption was first made by A. E. Shaw in "The earliest Latin grammars in English," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, V (1898–1900), 51–52; but it rests on nothing more than the fact that the grammar and the *Vulgaria* were printed together as a linked book by Rood at Oxford in 1483. As far as I know, no bibliographer has succeeded in assigning an author for the *Vulgaria*.

Finally, it may be added to note 1, page 183, that an edition of Dominici's *Lucula noctis*, much better than Coulon's, now exists: that of Brother Edmund Hunt, C.S.C. ("Publications in medieval studies, the University of Notre Dame," No. 4 [Notre Dame, Ind., 1940]). The fact that it had barely appeared when Count Weiss's book went to press no doubt accounts for its omission.

All in all, Count Weiss has given us a much-needed survey; considering the difficulties of the subject and the evils of the age, it is not surprising that a few deficiencies appear. The marvel is that there are not more. At any rate we are put in possession of a large body of new knowledge; if we do not all agree with the interpretation given, we must at least admit that a satisfactory formula for the Renaissance is not easy to find. The reason for this, as Professor Douglas Bush has remarked (*The Renaissance and English humanism*, chap. i, *passim*), is that there are a bewildering number of diverse phenomena to explain, no one of which the historian may neglect without peril to his scholarly soul.

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*The evolution of "The faerie queene."* By JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. ix+299.

This important book presents a revolutionary interpretation of the present structure of the *Faerie queene*. With acute reasoning Mrs. Bennett makes the only resolute attempt except Miss Spens's—and with more tenable results—to challenge the assumption of seriatim composition. She seeks to reconstruct the actual process of composition, and she will allow Spenser to be brought to bar only in a court that will entertain the plea of shifting aims and plans. From the first, Mrs. Bennett argues, Spenser was planning and changing; composing by episodes and sequences; breaking up sequences and rearranging, sometimes with time for careful revision, sometimes under pressure (Book III). The letter to Raleigh represents a hasty attempt to systematize the experimentation of years, a design concocted to provide a possible ending, to unify quests already under way, and otherwise to conform to accepted epic theory.

The general outlines of the reconstructed history are plausible. Harvey's early remarks about Hobgoblin and Ariosto, taken with Cuddie's hopes and fears in "October," point to an Ariosto-like beginning which would celebrate Eliza and her private virtue, chastity. Thoughts of "advancing" Leicester, of pricking youth to virtue, and of Vergil were certainly in Spenser's mind then, though the shepherd-song is rather forcibly pressed into service as literal evidence, an "express statement" of his doubt whether to choose Eliza or Leicester as hero: Piers might be merely suggesting that Cuddie's Muse may display her wing this way and that. But if the part that Harvey saw is still in the poem, it very likely concerns Arthur's quest for the queen of his dream or the fairy court with its Knights of Maidenhead.

The dreamer may well have been some knight other than Arthur. It seems less likely that the dream in 1580 was a conscious attempt to continue Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*, celebrating the chastity of the queen and imitating Ariosto, who continued Boiardo. Arthur's dream shows memories of *Thopas*, as Miss

Winstanley's parallels in her edition (1915) fully indicated, but, the theme being so common in romance, it is not even certain that the passage derives from Chaucer and less certain that, "little more than a paraphrase," it is a designed continuation. True, Mrs. Bennett's use of the Chylde Thopas who is named as confuser of Ollyphant in 1590 (but not in 1596) is adroit; but this might merely indicate that Spenser thought of the name Ollyphant for a giant, then of Thopas as his destroyer, then did no more about it, and so in 1596 erased Thopas.

This does not, however, invalidate the chief contentions. Why Arthur was not thought of as central figure in 1579 is suggested in a valuable chapter; as it is, the Prince is a superficially adjusted afterthought. Another chapter of fresh materials shows that Guyon and Artegal, at least in their names, still offer tribute to the legendary earls of Warwick; this matter, coming from early studies for *Stemmata Dudleyana*, constitutes the celebration of Leicester rather than any shadowing of him in Arthur—a highly unsafe proceeding, as Mrs. Bennett reminds us.

In Ireland, before 1590, Mrs. Bennett believes, the fairy mistress of the dreaming Sir Chastity evolved into Gloriana, fit focus for a heroic poem, which entered upon a more serious Vergilian phase, with illustration of an *order* of virtues—these the four cardinal virtues, not any twelve. Meantime there was a second turning to Ariosto. Then came Raleigh's visit, the decision to publish, and the letter which, to smooth away the abrupt opening, invented the twelve-day feast and gave the twelve virtues of "Aristotle and the rest" their first entrance.

Into the absorbing story of the composition of each book it is impossible to go except to mention the fine analysis of Book I, begun perhaps as an independent allegory of Christian experience, evolved from St. George legend and from Revelations, and carefully perfected in design and detail, finally conforming to the plan contrived for Raleigh. The analyses demonstrate how unsatisfactory it is to think of books, or even cantos, as each produced at one time or under one influence; the sounder way—

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of viewing episodes, or sequences, as units—produces the revealing outline of the whole action in Appendix I (where W. F. McNeir's plot-chart by narrative units might be mentioned, *PQ*, 1940) and dominates the examination in Appendix II of run-on lines, which supports many of Mrs. Bennett's suggestions and opens new lines of study.

Intricate as the argument is, it is remarkably clear and compact. In the main it avoids forcing facts to serve thesis. Raleigh and Norris were only connections, not "cousins," through the Champernownes; however, there is no doubt of Raleigh's interest in Norris, and Mrs. Bennett might cite the tribute to him, just dead, dragged into the *Islands voyage*, which is Raleigh's mouthpiece throughout (Purchas, *Pilgrimes* [1905-7], XX, 126). Mrs. Bennett's Norris-Artegal theory, ably supported as it is, remains vulnerable in that it must suppose, as she recognizes, that Spenser foretold a recall in disgrace for the officer still functioning in Ireland. The Mirabella story, too, seems only similar, not "complementary," to that of the Squire of Dames; and do Timias and Serena at the hermit's chapel "clearly allude" to Raleigh and his wife in their disgrace and retirement to Sherburne?

But these are minutiae. New facts or inferences define and vitalize Spenser's experiences in London and his relations with men like Bryskett. Research is offered new problems and is encouraged in present tendencies: against "justifying each book out of Aristotle"; toward seeing Spenser as catholic-minded Renaissance artist rather than mere Puritan moralist; and toward explaining his structural "failure" by his habit of using over again and rearranging his materials. Mrs. Bennett shows us the struggle for reasoned, schematic order by a poet who, as the organization of Books I and VI proves, was a not incompetent workman. Classroom discussion of the *Faerie queene* may well be modified and vivified through the findings of her book. And the poet will, I believe, be read with increased enjoyment.

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*The Globe playhouse: its design and equipment.*

By JOHN CRANFORD ADAMS. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. xiv+420.

Mr. Adams' long-expected book on the Globe is a handsome volume with seventeen illustrations and designs complemented by a very interesting dust jacket—a representation of the Globe blown up from the Folger's "unique original" of Visscher's "View of London." It constitutes the fullest discussion of the physical characteristics of the first Globe theater—1599-1614—which has yet been presented.

Mr. Adams' plan is to marshal his material separately for each part of the house, though there is, of course, some overlapping. He discusses first the shape of the building and the nature of the property; then the frame of the building; the auditorium; the platform stage; the tiring-house, exterior and first, second, and third levels; and, finally, the superstructure. His evidence is gathered from the usual sources: contemporary views of London, the few contemporary statements about features of the Globe, the contracts for the Fortune and the Hope, the half-dozen contemporary sketches or prints of theater interiors, contemporary statements about theaters in general, and, finally, the great mass of situations and lines in contemporary plays which make implications about the facilities their staging would require.

Most of this material has been handled before by various scholars—Thornton S. Graves, J. Q. Adams, Sir Edmund Chambers, W. J. Lawrence, and George Reynolds. Mr. Adams has little in the way of new material for a reconstruction of Shakespeare's Globe—chiefly the "original Visscher view," which he has seen in the unique copy at the Folger and which helps establish the octagonal shape of the building, and a certain number of quotations from plays not used in a theatrical context before. It is in the analysis of this material and in the assembling of its various implications that Adams goes further than his predecessors. He is particularly good not simply at utilizing a single passage to demonstrate the existence of a study ceiling trap or the overhang of the tarras but at handling a whole sequence of

passages or scenes to prove the existence of a particular device and at the same time to demonstrate its use both by itself and in conjunction with other devices of the theater.<sup>1</sup>

The most distressing feature of Mr. Adams' book is his indiscriminating admission of evidence. Surely the first principle for the selection of passages to throw light on the construction and utilization of the first Globe is that the plays from which the passages are taken should have been prepared for performances at that theater. The importance of this principle is demonstrated in Professor Reynolds' *The staging of Elizabethan plays at the Red Bull theatre, 1605-25*, a book with a purpose quite similar to that of *The Globe playhouse*. (I find, however, no reference at all to Reynolds' study in the present volume, though it appeared two full years before *The Globe playhouse*.) Not only does Adams make no attempt at all to determine whether the plays which he uses from the repertory of the Lord Chamberlain-King's Men were written for the Globe or for the very different private theater in Blackfriars,<sup>2</sup> but he frequently uses plays known to have been prepared before the building of the Globe in 1599—*Alphonsus, King of Arragon, The arraignment of Paris, The case is altered, Doctor Faustus, Edward I, Every man in his humour, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, Henry IV, Part I,*

<sup>1</sup> Note, for instance, his discussion of the use of a ceiling trap in *The captain* (pp. 222-24), of the staging of the spectacle in *Cymbeline* (pp. 336-40), of the use of the third level of the tiring-house in *The double marriage* (pp. 304-6) and *The tempest* (pp. 319-22), and of the use of the farrahs in descent scenes in *The prophetess* (pp. 351-56) and *The silver age* (pp. 356-62).

<sup>2</sup> Of the many indications of the very different requirements of the Globe and the Blackfriars, perhaps the most striking is the prologue to Shirley's *The doubtful heir*, first printed in *Poems* (1646):

"A Prologue at the Globe to his Comedy call'd The Doubtful Heire, which should have been presented at the Black-Friers."

"Gentlemen, I am onely sent to say  
Our Author did not calculate his Play,  
For this Meridian . . .

Pray do not crack the benches, and we may  
Hereafter fit your palate with a Play.  
But you that can contract your selves and sit  
As you were now in the Black-Friers pit,  
And will not deaf us with lewd noise, or tongues,  
Because we have no heart to break our lungs,  
Will pardon our vast Scene, and not disgrace  
This Play, meant for your persons, not the place."

*Henry IV, Part II, Henry V, A looking-glass for London and England, The merchant of Venice, Richard III, The Spanish tragedy*—as well as plays known to have been presented after the burning of the first Globe in 1614—*Albion, The bondman, Brennorall, The city madam, The devil is an ass, The distresses, The doubtful marriage, The emperor of the east, A game at chess, Lady Alimony, The maid of the mill, The princess, The queen's exchange, The Roman actor, The walks of Islington and Hogsdon, and a score of others.*

Even more unfortunate, in my opinion, is the use of evidence from plays known to have been prepared for other theaters and not connected with the Lord Chamberlain-King's company at all. Mr. Adams uses passages from plays prepared for other public theaters, like the Fortune play, *The roaring girl*, and the Red Bull plays, *The virgin martyr, The golden age, If it be not good the devil is in it, Fortune by land and sea, and Match me in London*; and even many from private theaters, like the Phoenix plays, *Covent Garden, Love's sacrifice, The duke's mistress, The Arcadia, The royal king and the loyal subject*; the St. Paul's plays, *The aphrodysial, Antonio's revenge, The puritan, The woman-hater, and The Phoenix*; the Salisbury Court plays, *Messalina and The Antipodes*; the Blackfriars boys' plays, *May day and The scornful lady*; and the Whitefriars play, *Cupid's whirligig*. In some instances, it is true, Adams calls attention to the theater for which a play was written, or its date; but in the great majority of instances he mentions neither, and usually there is no indication whether he is trying to demonstrate general theatrical conditions in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries or particular conditions at the first Globe, 1599-1614.

Such use of evidence, which is common in the last three-quarters of the book, shakes one's confidence in Adams' conclusions. Perhaps a distinction should be made between the parts of the book which rely largely on passages from plays and the parts which do not. In the first three chapters dealing with the shape of the theater and the nature of the property, the frame of the playhouse, and the auditorium, the work seems solidly based, and the

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discussions are very illuminating. When, however, Mr. Adams turns to the parts of the theater used by the actors in performance, he subtly changes his purpose. The last three-quarters of the book might be entitled, "Methods of staging which appear to have been commonly employed in Jacobean and Caroline performances and the theatrical facilities which they seem to require, with occasional special attention to the first Globe." In this section there is much shrewd and suggestive discussion of various theatrical problems—stage railings, rushes on the stage, stage traps, stage posts, the prompter's wicket, the tarras, the chamber, the location of the orchestra and the handling of the music, bay windows—but most of it is helpful in understanding stage methods rather than in demonstrating the characteristics of particular features of the Globe.

It is unfortunate that such wide familiarity with Elizabethan plays and such sound analysis of theatrical problems as Mr. Adams displays in this book should be misapplied in an attempt to establish the characteristics of one particular theater.

GERALD EADES BENTLEY

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*The rise of English literary history.* By RENÉ WELLEK. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. vii+275.

Mr. Wellek's compact volume sketches the development of the writing of literary history in England, from the beginnings to the publication of Thomas Warton's *History of English poetry* (1774–81). Two brief introductory chapters carry the story to 1700, and the major portion of the book is devoted to the eighteenth century, with four long chapters: "Ideas on literary history," "The study of early literature," "The writing of literary history," and "Thomas Warton." Although Warton is in one sense the hero of the book, Mr. Wellek is chiefly concerned in demonstrating that there was a "consciousness" of literary history before 1774. "[Warton's] main success," he concludes, "was unfortunately not in the actual writing of a history, but rather in his ability to organize into an orderly scheme the materials accumulated by his predecessors and by his

own researches" (p. 200). Mr. Wellek's survey of these multifarious materials and the somewhat groping efforts of Warton's predecessors—editors, biographers, literary critics, anthologists, and historians—provides incidentally a commentary on the conclusion of a recent historian: "An Age of Enlightenment could afford to be ignorant of the centuries which had preceded it, and the minute investigation of history became an occupation unworthy of a man of sensibility."<sup>1</sup>

In discussing the conditions which made possible the writing of literary history, Mr. Wellek considers, on the one hand, the ruling ideas concerning the study of literature in the eighteenth century and, on the other, the material texts available to the literary historian of that period. These texts are surveyed in chapter iv ("The study of early literature"), which is an admirably succinct account of the knowledge which the eighteenth century possessed of the literature of the past—first, of the great authors of the Renaissance and, second, of earlier literature (medieval, Old English, Norse, Welsh, Romance, Provençal, Italian, oriental, and "primitive"). Here, in the work of editors like Bentley and Tyrwhitt, collectors like Dodsley and Percy, critics like Hurd and Gray, and antiquarians in the tradition of Hickes, "the main materials for a history of English literature were assembled, the wide background of the poetic activities of other nations was sketched in, and all awaited only the shaping hand of the genuine historian" (p. 132).<sup>2</sup>

The discussion of "ideas on literary history" is less satisfactory, partly, one imagines, because the need for compression has resulted in many cases in oversimplification. Mr. Wellek begins well by defining the "historical sense" as "a recognition of individuality in its histori-

<sup>1</sup> David C. Douglas, *English scholars* (London, 1939), p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> In the account of antiquarian scholars Humphrey Wanley might well have received more attention. Mr. Wellek notes Wanley's catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the final volume of Hickes's *Thesaurus*, but he passes over—except for a bare mention in another chapter—Wanley's great catalogue of the Harleian manuscripts, which began to be printed in 1759 and which may have influenced Warton in his plan of writing the *History*.

cal setting and an appreciation of the historical process into which individualities fit" (p. 48). But, in dealing with the concept of "individuality," he seems to suggest that it arose early in the eighteenth century, as part of a "trend towards subjectivist standards," as a "turn from formalism to emotionalism"; shortly after 1700, we read, "the poet becomes an 'original,'" and "attention, which in earlier times was concentrated on the impersonal product of the poet's art, turned for the first time to the process of creation" (p. 49).<sup>3</sup> The concept of "individuality," it should be noted, did not arise with striking suddenness in the early eighteenth century; it may be viewed historically as a result—in part under the influence of Longinus (whom Mr. Wellek does not mention in this chapter)—of a shift of emphasis in neoclassical criticism, from a position which stressed equally art and judgment in the poet to a position which exalted the creative imagination of the artist. Similarly, on the question of the relation of the individual to his environment, it should be pointed out that the frequent neoclassical injunction to observe the manners of the age is but a part of a larger question in criticism, the relation of the work of art to its public, in which the emphasis changed from a stress on the universal traits of audiences to the position that each artist can be properly judged only in terms of the demands imposed upon him by the audience of his age.<sup>4</sup> Much of the theorizing here follows

<sup>3</sup> On the same page we are told that "after 1755 there were books by William Sharpe, William Duff, and Alexander Gerard expressly devoted to the exaltation of original genius." Mr. Wellek errs in good company in including Sharpe with Duff and Gerard, but a glance at the title-page of Sharpe's book would have revealed the extent to which it is "devoted to the exaltation of original genius." The title reads: *A dissertation upon genius: or, an attempt to shew, that the several instances of distinction, and degrees of superiority in the human genius are not, fundamentally, the result of nature, but the effect of acquisition. Art and study,*" writes Sharpe, "bring human nature to perfection. . . . Nature herself is universally slow in her advance till she has received a furtherance from the help of art, and . . . she is less difficult in proportion, as she has this assistance, which could not be the case if the Genius of mankind were naturally form'd for the proficiencies and superiorities, in which they shine" (p. 61).

<sup>4</sup> For a fuller statement of these points see R. S. Crane, "Neo-classical criticism," in *Dictionary of world literature*, ed. Joseph T. Shipley (New York, 1943), pp. 191 ff.

Quintilian, whose arguments in the *Institutio* (xii. x. 1-2) must have been familiar to most of the critics mentioned in this chapter.<sup>5</sup>

Before taking up Warton's contribution, Mr. Wellek considers earlier attempts (chap. v, "The writing of literary history"); here he surveys some of the older forms which continued into the eighteenth century (catalogues of poets, collective biography, prefaces to extracts, and commentaries and notes upon authors), then proceeds to "political historiography," with Hume and Robert Henry (*History of Great Britain on a new plan* [Edinburgh, 1771-93]) as the great names, and finally takes up the histories of individual genres—drama, epic, romance, criticism, and poetry. Of the two plans for a literary history most nearly anticipating Warton's in scope, those by Pope and Gray, neither advanced beyond the stage of preliminary sketches.

The final chapter shows Thomas Warton as the one eighteenth-century writer who was able to convert existing materials into a literary history.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Wellek gives an excellent account of the genesis and development of the *History of English poetry*, and he pays deserved attention to the importance of the earlier *Observations on the Faery Queen*, particularly in the changes and additions which Warton made in the second edition.<sup>7</sup> In his estimate of the

<sup>5</sup> In connection with the arguments about originality one would expect some mention of the controversy over Milton initiated by William Lauder. On p. 55 there is awkward chronology in the statement that Addison gave a "more precise explanation" to a theory enunciated by Goldsmith. On p. 61 the references to the pastoral movement, to Donne, and to Dryden as illustrating a "return to 'nature'" show a confusion in usage of the term "nature." It is difficult to see in what respect "the conception of nature and natural poetry which prevailed in the eighteenth century" represented "something new" as here defined. On p. 91 the statement that "the invention of a centaur was highly valued as a proof of genius" would apply with more truth to the seventeenth century—and earlier. Eighteenth-century critics from 1750 on accorded a higher place to free or "creative" imagination than Mr. Wellek suggests.

<sup>6</sup> Warton has already been the subject of a study by Miss Clarissa Rinaker ("University of Illinois studies in language and literature," Vol. II, No. 1 [Urbana, 1916])—a study which, in spite of well-recognized faults, deserves more recognition than Mr. Wellek gives it.

<sup>7</sup> Miss Rinaker used only the third edition (1807). She mentions (p. 59) a second edition, in which War-

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*History* he recognizes Warton's faults—his tendencies to digress, his imperfect linguistic equipment, his carelessness in transcribing—but he characterizes it as “a real, if loosely constructed, history with methods and principles and a unified conception” (p. 176). Mr. Wellek deserves praise, too, for his refusal to judge the *History* merely as a “preromantic” document: he sees Warton as primarily a neoclassicist, sharing the convictions of his age in the advance of civilization “from barbarism to refinement.” He sometimes, however, exaggerates Warton's lack of sympathy for what Mr. Wellek calls “many of the most distinguished social and intellectual features of the Middle Ages” (p. 181). Thus he tells us (p. 181) that Warton labeled the thought of Thomas Aquinas as “futile,” whereas Warton only characterized the school disputes at Oxford as “attention to a futile philosophy, to unintelligible elucidations of Scotus and Aquinas” (II, 420)—which is a different matter. Again, though Warton is ready to point out absurdities in the medieval chronicles and the mysteries, the general tone of his comment is assuredly not one of “censure” (p. 183). Even more misleading are the quotations from Warton on Dante. It is possible to select single phrases, such as “childish and ludicrous excesses,” which would not be used today, but the tenor of Warton's comment cannot justly be said to betray a “superior, ironical attitude”

(p. 184). The remarks on the Paolo and Francesca passage are on the whole sympathetic—“this picture, in which nature, sentiment, and the graces are concerned” (III, 243). Actually, of course, Warton's attitude toward medieval literature was marked by genuine, if tempered, appreciation; and Mr. Wellek is too acute not to realize this “real, instinctive knowledge of the medieval genius” (p. 187). But he accounts for it by saying that Warton “begins to waver in his principles” (p. 186) and that he has a “curious double point of view” (p. 192). Better is his statement on page 188: “This idea of a contrast between early imaginative and modern refined poetry was accepted by Warton, and, like many of his contemporaries, he also saw that the course of history that led to the modern type was not altogether happy from the point of view of absolute poetry.”

Mr. Wellek's volume is a significant contribution, rich in ideas, well planned, and abreast of modern research. It has a good bibliography, wisely divided between primary and secondary sources.<sup>8</sup> Notes are lumped in a most inconvenient position at the back of the book. There is a fairly complete index.

DONALD F. BOND

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<sup>8</sup> To the primary sources might be added: William Webbe, *A discourse of English poerie* (1586); Sir John Spelman, *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus* (1640); William Somner, *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (Oxford, 1659); and Henry Felton, *A dissertation on reading the classics and forming a just style* (1713). On p. 240 Thomas Dempster's *Nomenclatura scriptorum Scotorum* is attributed to John Dampster.

ton “made some additions and corrections, but no material changes.”

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